INTERPRETING THE PAST

Volume V - part I

THE FUTURE OF HERITAGE
Changing Visions, Attitudes and Contexts in the 21st Century

Editors: Neil Silberman
Claudia Liuzza

Selected Papers from the Third Annual Ename International Colloquium

Monasterium PoortAckere, Ghent, Belgium
21-24 March 2007

Interpreting The Past - Volume V - Part I

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2007 Brussels, Belgium

VOORWOORD

HET doet me een plezier u het eerste deel van de proceedings van het derde Jaarlijkse Internationale Ename Colloquium te kunnen voorstellen.

Dat de wereld van het culturele erfgoed een aantal verstrekkende en soms contradictorische gedaanteverwisselingen ondergaat, is geen onbekende ontwikkeling. Precies in deze context heeft het driedaagse colloquium een brede waaier aan perspectieven en visies proberen aan te bieden over de toekomst van het erfgoedbeleid, manieren van financiering, interpretatieve technologieën en over publieke betrokkenheid bij het erfgoed in Europa en in de rest van de wereld.

De uitdagingen waarvoor we staan zijn inderdaad enorm. In een wereld die steeds globaler wordt, speelt erfgoed in toenemende mate een belangrijke rol. Die algemene interesse voor het verleden lijkt zich echter niet altijd en overal te vertalen in bijvoorbeeld meer overheidsmiddelen voor restauratie en behoud of in meer onderzoeksbudgetten aan universiteiten en instellingen. Privé-initiatieven of toeristische programma's kunnen leemtes opvullen, maar zijn ook onderhevig aan marktmechanismen waardoor het erfgoed zelf soms in de verdrukking dreigt te komen. Tegenstrijdige tendensen, verschillende belangen, experimenten met technologische erfgoedontsluiting, de drang van het publiek naar meer participatie tegenover de zorg voor authenticiteit zijn slechts enkele kenmerken van wat zich in het brede erfgoeddomein afspeelt. Hoe deze en andere trends het efgoedlandschap van morgen zullen vormen is de vraag die als een rode draad door het colloquium liep.

De provincie Oost-Vlaanderen is fier om een vooraanstaande rol te kunnen spelen in deze discussie door een forum aan te bieden waarop mensen van over heel de wereld elkaar kunnen treffen om ideeën uit te wisselen, nieuwe aanpakken af te toetsen of bijkomende inspiratie op te doen.

Met deze neerslag van het colloquium hopen wij de ideeën en discussies toegankelijk te maken voor een breed publiek. Ik wens u van harte veel leesgenot en hoop dat deze verzameling van artikels inspiratie mag geven aan iedereen die de zorg voor het erfgoed nauw aan het hart ligt.

Jozef Dauwe
Gedeputeerde voor Cultuur
Provincie Oost-Vlaanderen, België

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STAKEHOLDERS, FUNDERS, AND PLANNERS

BEYOND CONFLICTED HERITAGE

INTRODUCTION

Neil A. Silberman
Director, Ename Center

THE Third Ename International Colloquium, held in Ghent 21-24 March 2007, turned its attention squarely to the future – and to the dramatic changes now sweeping over the heritage field. It is undeniable that Heritage is now in the midst of a series of far-reaching yet contradictory transformations. In some places, unprecedented levels of public and private funding have been applied to the cause of heritage conservation, yet in other places, the scale of physical destruction, looting, and vandalism has never been so great.

Everywhere academic departments of archaeology, history, and anthropology are under unprecedented budgetary pressure, yet at the same time increasing numbers of the general public are involved in cultural tourism and historic reenactments and are fascinated by historical novels, documentaries, and films. While government culture ministries and antiquities services are slashing their budgets in favor of outsourcing, private heritage management firms and locally inspired heritage development projects have created alternative structures for cooperation. Not least important, at a time when the "outstanding universal values" are stressed by UNESCO and other international heritage organizations, the quest for local and community identity – in an era of globalization – provides another source of strong public support for heritage commemoration and development.

The participants at the 2007 Ename Colloquium assembled for three days of plenary sessions, simultaneous workshops, and informal discussions to consider how these contradictory heritage trends will resolve themselves in the coming generation. How will we all see and understand tangible and intangible remains of the past in the next 20-25 years? Speakers were asked to address their predictions, projections, and perspectives on the following major themes:

- **Philosophy and Policy**: How will governments and heritage administrations view their responsibility toward tangible and intangible heritage in the coming generation? What are the major trends now affecting the development of public policy? What role will universities, NGOs, and international organizations play?

- **Economics**: How will the combination of public and private funding sources and of state and private management of heritage sites and museums evolve? With the continuing reduction of public culture budgets and increasing reliance on independent income generation, what economic strategies can be most effective in preserving the integrity of cultural heritage sites?

- **Technologies**: How can emerging technologies contribute to the long-term preservation, documentation and public interpretation of heritage resources? In which contexts are they sustainable and/or affordable? What is their social and intellectual impact on the public perception of heritage itself?

- **Community Participation**: Do heritage sites belong only to a nation, to regional and local administrations, to the communities that produced them, or to the specialists that study and conserve them as "universal" heritage? What is the role of the general public? What kinds of innovative programmes can most effectively enhance education and community identity?

As in previous years, the response by both speakers and participants was enthusiastic. Yet this year, the number, variety, and quality of the contributions to the colloquium made the publication of a single, complete proceedings volume impractical. With more than 170 registered participants, 12 plenary presentations, and almost 70 short and research papers, it was decided to publish two volumes of selected contributions – of which this volume is the first. The second volume is now in preparation and we expect that the two volumes together will provide readers with a representative selection of the full range of topics and case-studies presented at the 2007 colloquium.

Once again, we owe particular thanks to the Department of Culture of the Province of East-Flanders, to the Provincial Archaeological Museum – Ename, and to the Flemish Heritage Institute (VIOE) for their continuing support. Other valuable institutional supporters of the Ename Colloquium were EPOCH-European Research Network on Excellence in Processing Open Cultural Heritage; the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation; the Alliance of National Heritage Areas (USA); Gent Congress vzw, and Meyvaert Glass Engineering of Ghent.

Needless to say the Colloquium would have been impossible without the superb logistical and administrative work of Eva Roels and the staff at the Ename Center. Likewise the outstanding programme coordination and the editing of this volume is due in very large part to the hard work and dedication of Claudia Liuzza, who held a CHIRON-Marie Curie Fellowship at the Ename Center from 2005 to 2007. Finally, we owe our profound gratitude to Jean-Pierre Van Der Meiren, former Deputy of Culture of the Province of East-Flanders, whose political vision, boundless intellectual support, advice and wisdom, helped make the activities of the Ename Center – of which the annual colloquium was only one element – a force for change and innovative thinking in the international heritage world.

NEW THEORETICAL DIRECTIONS

LOST IN THE LABYRINTH: MAPPING THE PATH TO WHERE HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE LIES

Gustavo F. Araoz
ICOMOS, USA

THE acceptance of new values in the designation of heritage sites has led to an unprecedented expansion of heritage over the last two decades and has thrust the field of conservation into the mainstream political dialogue. However, the rapid emergence of new heritage site typologies has not allowed for the development of new processes and mechanisms that will be required for their protection and in order to keep pace with this expansion.

It is a premise of this short paper that over the past 25 years this emergence of new heritage site typologies has brought about a major paradigm shift. Not only are the values attributed to these sites of a different nature; contrary to previous paradigms, they do not always rest on the physical elements extant in the place, but on other intangible carriers for whose safeguarding traditional conservation provides little guidance.

This is the complex labyrinth where the unidirectional road of traditional conservation has taken us.

Background

An examination of the evolution of the modern heritage conservation movement from the early 19th century onward quickly demonstrates that the values attributed to heritage sites were mostly historic and aesthetic in nature, and more importantly, they rested on the material components of the place.

In response to this focus on the materiality of heritage, traditional conservation theory and *praxis* were built on gathering and compartmentalizing information about the characteristics and behavior of building materials and their effect on image, form and space. The philosophies inherent in or advanced by the work spanning more than 150 years of, *inter alii*, Stern, Ruskin, Morris, Viollet-le-Duc, Beltrami, Boito, Giovannoni, Pane and Brandi attempted to advance certain

approaches to material conservation, but despite their opposition to each other, all accepted without questioning that significance lay on the material aspect of heritage.

The Venice Charter makes a point of the overarching importance of this materiality in article 9, when it states that

> "[The] *aim* [of the process of restoration] *is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents.*"

Crucial in understanding this exclusive concern with materiality are the words "historic" and "aesthetic" which are the only two values explicitly recognized by the Venice Charter, and that are also at the very core of Brandi's 1963 *Teoria del Restauro* – a successful and brilliant philosophical reconciliation of the conflicting treatments that each of these two values implies.

This focus on the material evidence as the carrier of values and significance is terribly important because it lies at the very foundation of the complex legal, technical, and administrative mechanisms that have been painstakingly developed to protect heritage since the drafting of the Venice Charter and the founding of ICOMOS. It is for this reason that when we talk of conservation of heritage, there is on the part of the public an axiomatic assumption that the task at hand is the conservation of its material evidence. Given this historic trajectory, protection of the material evidence is the goal of most heritage legislation; it is at the very root of the principles of reversibility, minimal intervention, preventive conservation, the ban on reconstruction, and the inter-generational contract of heritage sustainability. Materials as carriers of values are also the source for most definitions and proofs of authenticity and integrity in heritage sites.

Contrary to pervasive assumptions, conservation is not so much about preserving significance or values, but about protecting the carriers where significance and values lie. Historic fabric is the common carrier of significance for the vast majority of heritage sites recognized and registered throughout the world. At the root of this are the earliest European recognitions of places as heritage, which were limited to places whose significance was material-based.

But not all heritage significance is material-based. Alois Riegl was the only among the early preservation theorists to go beyond this limited notion in

that he understood the complex relationship of **monument-value-significance** when he analyzed the field of heritage that existed in Austria at the beginning of the 20th Century. Unfortunately, his broad analytical approach was never fully absorbed into the development of preservation theories that followed after him and his reasonings did not have a full application to practice.

How The Labyrinth Was Built: Analyis Of Current Situation And Emerging Issues

A common mistake that has helped build the labyrinth and fostered disorientation is the mistaken notion that heritage conservation is about preserving values. In the context of heritage, values are an expression of the public will to give importance to a place. In that sense, they can be disseminated, enhanced and even proselytized; but not preserved. Values – and their attribution to place – precede conservation.

In many heritage site classifications emerging over the last 20 years, the carriers of values and significance are not the material substance but an immaterial something else that at times is difficult to define. As an added difficulty, a whole new range of values have begun to spring from community-based groups, and not from heritage specialists and historians as was the rule for most of the 20th century.

The challenge in these shifts is that much of the work needed to protect, conserve and manage the site must be re-directed from the material evidence and re-evaluated for applicability to immaterial carriers, with the added complexity that many immaterial carriers are in a constant state of fluid change. Thus far, few tools have been developed for understanding, identifying or characterizing what those other immaterial carriers of significance are, much less what the appropriate technical, legal or even moral procedures for preserving then would be.

There have been a number of timid, albeit serious, attempts to expand the foundational theory of heritage conservation to address the needs of such sites. The first was the 1982 ICOMOS – IFLA Florence Charter that addressed the conservation of constantly evolving historic gardens whose material evidence includes living botanical specimens that defy traditional conservation. Later came the 1994 Nara Document, the 1996 Declaration of San Antonio and the 1999 Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage, all of which recognized (but did not solve) the difficulty of dealing with the dynamic nature of the materiality of

certain heritage classifications, and in turn also attempt to address the immaterial forces that lie behind this state of evolution or self-renewal.

Non-material carriers of significance are not limited to new classifications of heritage sites. Long recognized as special places, battlefields and other sites valued for having been the stage of an important non-repeating event that society wished to perpetuate in the communal memory are sites where some carriers of significance are non-material, and difficult to identify, much less protect. Where are the immaterial carriers in battlefields? In the public memory? In the official governmental recognition? In the stories told about the place? In the emotions of a few? The material carriers – topography, flora and the ephemeral or transient objects that occupied a battlefield on the eventful day of the actual battle – are impossible to preserve in the same way that one protects traditional historic fabric in heritage where significance is material-based. Thus, the attempt to "freeze" these sites in time – or preserve them – is more an allegory or illusion of preservation than actual preservation itself.

For a whole new range of more recently emerged heritage site classifications whose significance is not material-based or only partially so, the challenge may not lie so much in identifying the carriers of their significance, but on the proper, even moral, mechanisms for protecting them, as the implications of doing so may directly affect the social, political and economic situation of specific social or ethnic groups at the expense of others.

Take, for instance, vernacular architecture and settlements, whose significance lies in part on its material manifestations, but whose value is equally dependent on traditional knowledge about construction techniques, settlement patterns, and communal rituals that have been generationally transmitted over long periods of time, as well as on the (increasingly rare) desire of the people who carry these traditions to continue to live according to the ancestral ways. The carriers of the vernacular heritage significance include both the well-known material evidence (buildings, setting, and settlement patterns) and the intangibles of communal knowledge and desire. In today's world we have the tools to protect the material aspects of vernacular heritage; yet somewhat contradictorily, we also recognize that this materiality undergoes constant renewal as traditions adapt to new needs. But more important and challenging is the question: what can or should we do regarding preservation of the immaterial carriers? There are moral decisions to be taken when we confront the paradox that traditional peoples living

outside the globalized modern economy may condemned to relative poverty if they retain the traditional values and working methods that sustain vernacular expression.

There are of course, many valid *ad-hoc* responses to this specific challenge, as garnered from the American, Canadian, Australian and African experiences, to mention only a few. Even though dealing with this issue is becoming common enough to have validated certain approaches, the protection of immaterial carriers of significance at such sites remains devoid of sound philosophical foundations, of a practical classification or taxonomy, and of effective preservation techniques and explicit legal protection.

Perhaps no other site classification presents a greater challenge to preservationists than cultural landscapes. These sites present the same complexity of battlefields in that they are composed of an ever-changing arrangement of natural and man-made elements, but unlike battlefields, cultural landscapes sustain and harbor human life. In fact it is the historic evolution resulting from the symbiotic sustenance between the two that makes cultural landscapes significant. As with battlefields, the carriers for that significance do not lie entirely in the material evidence (which is changing constantly), but in the historic patterns of change that result from the human interaction sustained over time with its surroundings.

In other words, a principal carrier of significance **IS** the process of change, which brings heritage conservation to the apparent oxymoron **of having to protect and preserve change – or better yet: historic patterns of change**. Since preservation has long been assumed to be concerned with the prevention of change in material culture, our field has had to re-define its mission: it is not so much about preventing change any more; it is about **managing change**.

With other types of properties where significance is not material-based, the issue of what needs to be protected and how it is to be preserved can become very ambiguous and conflictive because ultimately, it is unclear what exactly has to be conserved.

There are a number of such sites in the United States National Register of Historic Places, such as the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York that acquired national prominence as the results of public riots that erupted when the bar customers reacted to violent homophobic police actions. The riots served to galvanize the gay rights movement, and eventually led to the full public and legal recognition of the civil rights of gays and lesbians. Based on these associative

merits, the site and its surroundings were inscribed in the National Register in 1999. While recognition of this place as being one of national importance is fully warranted, the actual focus of what needs to be preserved is not at all clear. The bar itself is a viable commercial entity, and as such, its décor must change and cannot be frozen in time. In fact, according to its website, the Stone Wall is now closed and undergoing complete remodeling. The public space and sidewalks where the riots actually took place cannot be preserved either. Perhaps a plaque is the best that can be done. But does that constitute heritage conservation? In the end, it is the memory of these events that the Register seeks to protect, but the question is how does or should society extend legal protection to certain memories?

Another example of a type of sites that undoubtedly are significant, but whose conservation presents great ambiguity would be any of the "Chinatown" historic districts that exist in a number of cities throughout the United States, and a number of which are listed in the National Register. As a rule, these districts do not possess an architecture that either is distinguished or differentiates them from other urban areas. What makes them unique is the character imbued by the community itself and the land use over time, which would include the type of life that the place sustains, a particular use of the public space, the communal rituals and commercial activities, and their cyclical recurrence in time. There are also non-tactile sensory aspects that add to the character of the place, such as auditory and olfactory characteristics. In places such as these significance lies in the land use of the place by a specific group, and not necessarily on the physical and spatial fabric, which nonetheless are the *sine qua non* stage on which this life is enacted. How does one protect such places? Preventing the Chinese community from moving out is both impossible and out of the question. In recent years Washington's Chinatown has been heavily "sino-ized" with all sorts of Chinese ornamental elements and signs celebrating what once was a quiet Chinese district. But the district has also been heavily gentrified to the point that many Chinese can no longer afford the costs and have left. The strong focus on the materiality of the place and not on its immaterial carriers of significance has actually morphed the place into a caricature of its once-self.

The issue of protection and preservation of properties significant to traditional cultures is even more ethereal and ambiguous. To cite only a few National Register examples: Inyan Karan Mountain in the Black Hills of South Dakota, is significant in part because it is the abode of spirits in the traditions of the

Lakota and Cheyenne. Kootenai Falls on the Kootenai River in Idaho, part of the National Register-eligible Kootenai Falls Cultural Resource District, has been used for centuries as a vision questing site by the Kootenai tribe. The Helkau Historic District in northern California is a place where traditional religious practitioners go to make medicine and commune with spirits.

For properties such as these, the easiest action is to leave them in the hands of the traditional cultures that have managed them and protected them for centuries. But that is not always possible, as was the case of Mount Shasta in California, a site sacred to some Native Americans as the center of creation, and more recently to more than 100 New Age sects who see it as the source of great mystical power. At the same time, it is a desirable and thriving ski station. Fortunately, mediation was possible at Mount Shasta, which probably means the neither the Native American groups, the New Age people, the Ski Park owners, nor the skiers will ever be completely satisfied with the solution. But in the end, it points to the need for inter-cultural respect for the values held by others, even when conflicting.

We must accept that heritage properties whose significance rests on immaterial elements will never be simple to manage and protect. Other countries such as Mexico, Canada, New Zealand and Australia face similar challenges, but their experience is still tentative and ad hoc.[1]

As Julian Smith has pointed out, the resulting situation is more than an expansion of heritage concepts. It is a major paradigm shift that relies on the acceptance of a new set of values that rest not on objects, but on processes that have become the immaterial, amorphous and changing carriers of significance, and that require a whole new way of conceiving heritage, beginning with new classifications that are based not so much on physical typology but on the type of carriers on which the site's significance rests.

Understanding the Nature of the Labyrinth

After two centuries of work, the preservation field understands and uses well the material-based vessels, and that will continue to be useful in preserving heritage sites whose significance lies on their materials. However, a clear understanding of the range, nature and implications of immaterial-based vessels has been slow to emerge, and the bulk of the response so far is fragmented due to its lack of a comprehensive vision of heritage.

Within ICOMOS, the cultural landscapes group has been working for over a decade in trying to come to terms with the new paradigms. More recently, a new International Committee on Intangible Heritage has been established, but has yet to produce substantial results. By and large, ICOMOS – and the heritage field at large – have been reluctant to enter the field head-on because its membership, history, and composition are mostly made up of material-based heritage professionals who are intimidated by a challenge that we barely understand. As a result ICOMOS is lagging and involved only in the periphery of these new issues. Most of the truly innovative work that is being proposed is taking place outside of our organization and in the hands of professional groups that have never been courted seriously by ICOMOS: ethnographers, sociologists, and folklorists.

The inherent danger in this segregation of labor could be the rupture of the heritage field into two separate and distinct branches that follow parallel paths, or worse, divergent ones, as is made ominously possible by the implementation of separate UNESCO Conventions on tangible and intangible heritage.

The re-conceptualization and protection of heritage under such terms will require a deeper understanding than now exists of the immaterial carriers where values and significance lie. It will need to rely on broad national and international discussions among heritage experts and with stakeholders. For the time being, this study has tentatively identified five principal heritage classifications that rely on the vessel where their significance lies:

1. Sites of architectural or historic merit where significance lies in the extant material and spatial. Depending on the preservation traditions, habitual local practice and attribution of values, the material evidence may be:
    - Historic fabric from the original construction
    - Historic fabric resulting from additions following original construction
    - Reconstructed fabric to replace documented missing elements
    - Evolving botanical specimens
    - Natural formations

2. Architecturally undistinguished sites that are place-specific but whose significance does not depend on interpretation of material form, but

that lies in a specific type communal life that the land use sustains

3. Sites where an important non-repetitive event worth remembering took place can be classified in two ways:
    - In places where the setting for the event can be identified or preserved, significance lies in both the material evidence and the communal memory
    - In places where the fabric and the setting are only incidental to the significance and do not merit special protection, the significance is inextricably associated to place, but does not lie in the material evidence.
4. Sites whose natural features have special meanings that convert them into cultural properties. Significance lies in the natural setting and in the communal memory
5. Sites whose nature is dynamic in that they depend on change to retain their meaning to society – historic urban districts, cultural landscapes. Significance in these places is split between the extant historic fabric and the ability to sustain the continuing patterns of their historic evolution.

The following matrix is an attempt to express graphically the above outline:

	CARRIERS OF VALUES								
	MATERIAL				**IMMATERIAL**				
	Fixed physical elements	Moveable artifacts	Evolving Plant features	Natural formations	Historic land use	Sacred Beliefs & Myths	Periodic Events & Rituals	Historic Patterns of Change	Communal Commemorative Will
Aesthetic Values									
Age Values									
Historic values									
Scientific Values									
Social Values									
Identity Values									
Economic Values									
Political Value									
Utilirian Values									

This table clearly implies the need to correlate the type of values that are attributed to heritage and the type of carriers where they may lie. However, such an attempt is well beyond the scope of this paper, and for now, we will just add this task to our "things to do" list.

The certainty of knowing where values lie and the nature of the carrier is important as the starting point to understand how the heritage conservation field will move forward. More pragmatic, however, might be to correlate carriers to the principal mechanisms and ultimate objectives that have driven the conservation of material carriers of significance until now. We can query their effectiveness to do the same for immaterial carriers. In other words, we need to test whether immaterial carriers can be preserved or safeguarded with the present content of our toolkit, or whether we need to design and construct new instruments.

As a starting point, this paper would propose investigating the following, accepting that there may be others that we may be overlooking:

		CARRIERS OF VALUES								
		MATERIAL				**IMMATERIAL**				
		Fixed physical elements	Moveable artifacts	Evolving Plant features	Natural formations	Historic land use	Sacred Beliefs & Myths	Periodic Events & Rituals	Historic Patterns of Change	Communal Commemorative Will
PRINCIPLES	Neutrality of Material carriers	Y	Y	N						
	Exhaustive documentation									
	Slowing down changes	Y	Y	N						
	Reversibility	Y	Y	Y/N						
	Missing parts	Y	Y	Y/N						
	Reconstruction	Y	Y	Y						
	Authenticity	Y	Y	Y						
	Sustainability	Y	Y	Y						
TOOLS	Preventive Conservation	Y	Y	N						
	Legal Protection	Y	Y/N	Y						

TEST 1. NEUTRALITY OF HISTORIC FABRIC

As with historic written texts, all traditional conservation practice relies on the historic belief that due to their relative inalterability, materials carry an intrinsic, unbiased and impartial record of the past that is both incorruptible and inexhaustible in terms of the information it can provide. While the interpretation given to those materials and the values attributed to them may vary in time and space, materials themselves must remain unchanged to prevent human tampering with the primary inherent in them.

Can the same be said of immaterial carriers of significance?

TEST 2. DOCUMENTATION

Thorough documentation of the history of a site, of its material components and their condition has been at the very foundation of conservation practice. The purpose of such documentation has been to understand how significance is contained in the material carriers; what stories the materials can express; what answers they may provide. The information derived from documentation has always served to avoid treatments and interventions that would diminish or alter the ability of materials to be carriers of meaning.

Is all or any part of this true for immaterial carriers?

TEST 3. SLOWING DOWN CHANGE

Even if we know that it cannot be achieved, preventing materials from changing in order to preserve intact the information carried in them has always been understood to be the ideal towards which all conservation strives.

Does it make sense, or is it even possible to slow down change in immaterial carriers? Are not immaterial carriers often unstable and in a constant evolution?

TEST 4. REVERSIBILTY

The almost sacred importance of the immutability of material fabric has led to the principle that all physical interventions and treatments should be reversible in a way that any changes or additions should be removable and leave no permanent mark on the original fabric.

TEST 5. AUTHENTICIY AND INTEGRITY

Sustaining the concept of material fabric as a carrier of information from the past is the principle of authenticity, which ensures that that information has not been tampered or falsified through interventions and changes in the physical fabric. Authenticity was redefined by the Nara Declaration to respond precisely to the transfer of significance from the exclusive material carriers to include the immaterial ones of traditional knowledge and communal rituals.

TEST 6. SUSTAINABILITY IN THE CONTEXT OF INTER-GENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION

In the field of heritage, sustainability has been defined as the ability of each generation to enjoy heritage sites without in any way altering it in ways that will diminish the next generation's ability to do the same. In practical terms, this has reinforced the principles of reversibility and authenticity as they govern the limits of alterations to the material carriers of significance.

Does this definition of sustainability and the inter-generational duties apply to immaterial carriers with the same implications?

TEST 7. PREVENTIVE CONSERVATION

To avoid the risk of irreversibly altering material carriers of significance through drastic interventions, the practice of low-impact, preventive conservation and periodic maintenance of heritage has been advanced.

Can immaterial carriers receive preventive maintenance? Does the concept even make sense?

TEST 8. LEGAL PROTECTION

Most heritage legislation has been developed to restrict changes to the material aspects of historic sites. Official recognition of sites with immaterial carriers of significance is common, but the actual legal protection of those immaterials is very diffuse and little developed. Zoning codes, for instance provide protection to land use but only in the most basic sense. Increasingly, legislation is being enacted to recognize the relationship of traditional cultures with their historic setting, but for mainstream cultures, such legislation is nonexistent.

If the answer to any of the above simple tests is either a no or a "perhaps," the whole doctrinal foundation on which our long-held practices are based may need a complete reassessment, and alternate theories may need to be developed to support new practices that will safeguard our heritage.

Finding the Path out of the Labyrinth

Over the last two hundred years, the heritage conservation professions have built a solid theoretical foundation on which to build effective mechanisms that protect the material evidence where significance lies. To meet the challenge of properly protecting emerging heritage classifications whose significance rests on immaterial carriers, the same will have to be done for them. The questions that need answering are many. If we look at only one of the above classifications, the dynamic heritage sites whose significance rests on their historic patterns of constant self-renewal, these are only some of the questions that need answers:

How does a dynamic heritage site, such as a cultural landscape, renew itself? If the historic patterns of its growth are a vessel where its values and significance rest, how do we characterize and document those patterns in terms of the evolution in form that they bring about? What has been the time span of these changes? Are there periods of accelerated growth? What is the historic time cycle of self-renewal?

In planning conservation for their future, how do we project an allowable growth that will fit within the traditional growth patterns? What type of changes will fit in the continuation of those patterns? Which do not? How fast can these changes take place to remain within the cycle of historic growth?

What are the historic political, social and, economic forces that have driven historic urban growth? What has been the nature of these forces? Have some forces been beneficial or harmful, and can that benefit or harm be predictable into the future? Have the forces been constant, have they been cyclical, or are have new ones been constantly emerging? If they are changing, is there a repetitive pattern and time cycle in how they ebb and flow? Can they be projected into the future to identify what changes can take place and be within the allowable limits? How can the pace of change be projected into the future?

Question such as these will require not only that we re-focus our attention in whole new directions, but also that partnerships be built with professions,

specializations and organizations with whom the preservation field has not worked in the past. There is much to be done.

Endnotes

1 One can argue that the Australians may claim greater progress than other countries with the adoption of the Burra Charter to guide such work. However, one could also postulate that all the Burra Charter does is admit our joint ignorance and provide a road map to follow on each individual case.

IDEOLOGY AND DISCOURSE IN HERITAGE POLICY: THE IMPORTANCE OF DEFINING AND FRAMING THE EXTENT AND CONTEXT OF "THE SIGNIFICANT"

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IN policy and planning practice, at least as it has evolved in the United States, "historic preservation"[1] is Janus-faced. While public and political support for historic preservation has grown remarkably from the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 (Public Law 102-575) to the present, the nature of what constitutes preservation has been far from stable.[2] Preservation has become a politically popular feature of local planning and design policy, while evoking a sense of outrage among some advocates of private property rights and of "design freedom." It can create a sense of community, while also occasionally irritating deep wounds from the past; and it is caught between a sense of ineffable "values" and the need to be financially viable. Overall, preservation is ill-defined as a public policy subsystem and is programmatically variable from place to place. Given the interpretive flexibility of what is the proper domain of preservation policy and the resulting confusing operative definitions of preservation, policymakers and scholars who have attempted to understand the field have subjectively focused on and argued that one aspect or another is more central than all the others. However, based on empirical evidence, more fully developed elsewhere (Koziol 2003), I argue that there are discernible lines of discourse between differing understandings of preservation, and that while no one understanding is "correct," taken together, the resulting patterns of meaning and discursive frames are critical to understanding the policy processes of historic preservation.

Logically, one could explore historic preservation discourse and planning through any of a variety of methods. However, the undeveloped state of critical social theory *as applied to historic preservation* suggests that any attempt to "test" an existing theory on historic preservation would be both detached from

the existing literature, and be seen as irrelevant to the existing professional (i.e., operative) discourse. Additionally, any discussion of preservation that stays exclusively within the current boundaries of the professional literature could easily succumb to a narrow vocationalism. Hence, the scholarly literature that informs the present research and argument has been largely developed by those studying social and political processes in Western democracies. Specifically, in the course of developing his theory of "structuration," Giddens (1984) distinguishes the way collective resources (allocatory power) and rules (regulatory power) are deployed by political communities to provide frames of reference and articulate ideas. Exemplary, of the scholars who have followed Giddens lead in analyzing planning and spatial policy is Healey who analyzes a variety of public planning processes and concludes, "in these practices, policy agendas are reinterpreted and remoulded, to create different discourses which have the potential to maintain alternative sources of power and act recursively on the original frames of reference and transform them" (Healey 1999, 27). Central to the work of this group of scholars is an interest in existing discourses, and the way individual actors use such discourses to both pursue direct policy objectives and shift the underlying discourse. Policy actors are not just assigning value to the world around them, but actively valorizing it.

While not referencing the above literature, economists Klamer and Zuidhof (1999) also address the nature of value in heritage. They argue that whereas *valuation* is the measurement of existing values *valorization* is that changeable process by which value is ascribed to an object. This argument which is situated in the scholarly debate on the economics of culture is applicable to the present discussion by virtue of how such knowledge might be used in a policy context. Mossetto (1994), another economist of culture, takes a slightly different, but related, approach. First, he develops an elegant, inter-temporal model of the changing mode of valuing building conservation in Western society. He begins with the pre-nineteenth century notion of conservation as a decision based on the object as a purely private good. He then argues that more recent definitions of *preservation*, as opposed to what he calls *conservation*, have become more complicated. The cultural heritage is no longer a strictly private good. It becomes a semi-public one, whose nature is affected by non-excludability and non-rivalry of consumption. Public interest comes into account together with the information asymmetry typical of artistic goods, causing strategic anomalies like free-riding

consumer behavior and information-based rent-seeking (Mossetto 1994, 84). Mossetto concludes that the "ideological nature [of contemporary preservation] contrasts sharply with economic reality and the results of its application to reality are strongly affected by some sort of value judgment." Ultimately, he concludes that economic analysis alone does not suffice.

The remainder of this paper 1) accepts the notion of an ideological role for preservation; 2) explores some distinctions already recognized as internal to the preservation discourse; and 3) develops a theoretical mapping for exploring several distinctions made in the preservation policy discourse. Ultimately, the argument presented here begins and concludes with a simple 4 square matrix (Fig. 1) through which I propose further research based on the findings and understanding underlying this matrix.

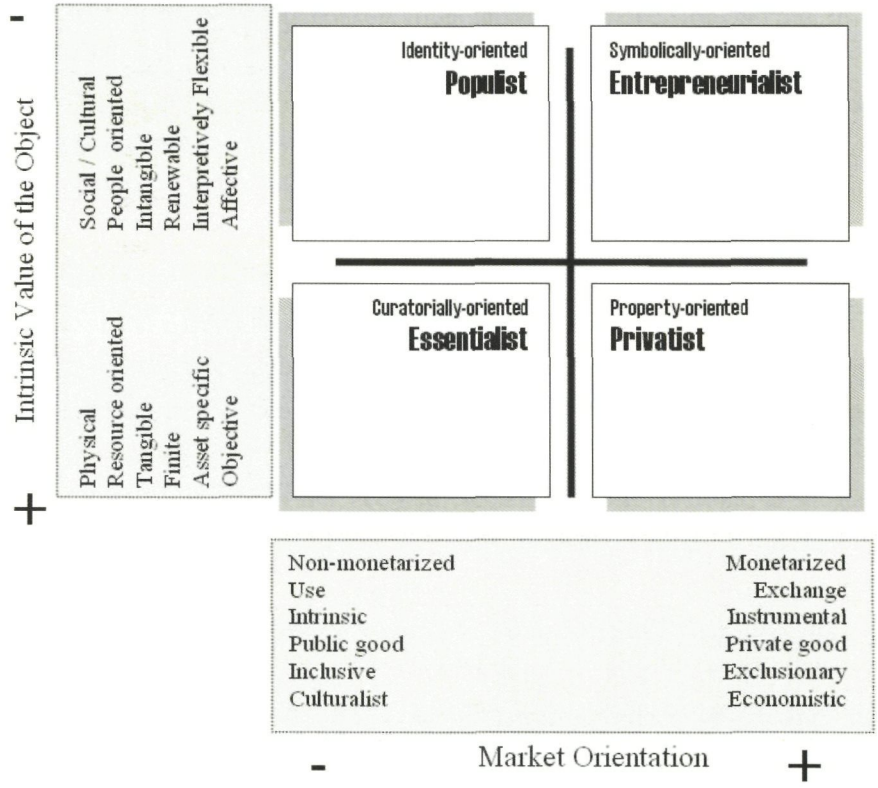

Figure 1. Discourse matrix

The discursive frames herein discussed are mapped along two dimensions. In the first, a standing debate among preservationists is assessed in a new way. Preservationists have long discussed whether an artifact or site is more important for reasons intrinsic to that thing, or because of the associational values brought to it by those who are doing the valuation. This, the debate between essentialists (intrinsic value) and populists[3] (associational value) has been documented before (Avrami and Mason 2000, Jokilehto 1999, Murtagh 2006, Page and Mason 2004, Stipe and Lee 1987); albeit not referenced with these terms. These opposing approaches also suggest several finer level distinctions as also note in Table 1.

	Market indifferent **Accepting non-monetary value**	**Market oriented** **Seeking monetary value**
Associational value	The **Populist** holds that value resides in a relationship between artifact and beholder, and cannot or should not be subjected to market forces.	The **Entrepreneurialist** agrees with the populist that value is in the eye of the beholder, but has no qualms about commercializing the attachments people have for historic artifacts.
Intrinsic value	The **Essentialist** sees value as inherent in artifacts, and not reducible to market valuation. Hence, they often see themselves as the specialists best able to identify value and ascribe appropriate policy action.	For the **Privatist**, a building, artifact or site has intrinsic value, but unlike the Essentialist, believes that he who holds title can and should be able to exploit this value in the marketplace.

Table 1. Two Dimensions of Value

Additionally, this established associational/intrinsic debate among those concerned with preservation, and the role of heritage in society more generally, has been supplemented by a new set of discussions in the literature on market-oriented the outcomes of preservation activity. The underlying policy question might be "Can we, and should we, subject cultural heritage to economic reasoning?" This question has been more perplexing to preservation advocates, and much current

strategic thinking among preservationists has focused on whether to see emerging political pressure to assign monetary values to preservation as an opportunity or as a threat.[4]

These two dimensions – one arrayed along an axis from associational to intrinsic, and the other along an axis from monetarized to non-monetarized –are developed and juxtaposed to provide a heuristic; first, to help critically frame the ongoing professional discourse on preservation; second, to consider how "market ideology" has affected this debate that in the past frequently ignored both the political and economic context of practice. This mapping, in turn, is intended to contribute to future policy discussions and planning decisions by distinguishing between understandings of different discourses and discursive coalitions, each attempting to define the meaning of historic preservation.

Populism

Both home grown sentiment, and the imported debates of Europe, contributed to a specific tendency of United States preservation thinking and policy. Patriotism, as expressed through an interest in the "founding fathers" was an American variant of nationalistic expression so common to Europe. This particular form of identity politics instills a sense of common heritage, and common purpose.

From about 1850 to 1900, American preservationists held buildings to be worthy of attention for transcendent rather than intrinsic reasons. As shrines to historic personages, these structures were symbols of patriotic fervor before any consideration of their aesthetic quality. Preservationists of the time were motivated by a brand of chauvinistic fervor that sometimes strikes us as naïve today, or by social and cultural impulses of which they themselves were not always fully aware (Murtagh 1997, 30-31).

Eric Hobsbawm is more pointed in his general critique of the use of heritage.[5] "Nationalistic" and "ethnic" are not always the same and have proven to often times be in opposition. However, taken together, as applied to the study of heritage, they represent a "populist" dimension. "Populism" as I use it here, has a specific meaning, and its use is meant to encompass two usually distinct phenomena. Peter Burke notes that European culture has long dealt with ambiguity in defining "the people." He sets the contrast.

In the first place, it signifies everyone in a particular city, region or nation, as opposed to other peoples. As the Roman lawyers used to say, "the safety of the people is the highest law," *Salus populi suprema lex.* In the second place, the term "people" signifies the members of the subordinate, as opposed to the ruling classes, as in the classical phrase distinguishing the Roman Senate from the people, *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (Burke 1992, 293).

He goes on to argue that these two definitions are each historically linked to differing politics. The first, appealing to "identities of consensus," is associated with nationalism. The second, appeals to "identities of resistance," and has included both the movements of ethnically disenfranchised populations, and the working class. Keeping in mind that these two definitions result in different political movements, they are here classified together as "populism," a term used in this paper to designate an emphasis on the cultural politics of heritage.

Essentialism

Essentialism, as used here, follows Danish philosopher Uffe Juul Jensen's characterization, "according to the essentialists, objects or kinds of objects acquire their identity from their inherent nature" (Jensen 2000, 41). Hence, unlike the populists, who are at least ostensibly open to some kind of democratic sorting of which parts of the accumulated heritage are worth preserving, essentialists are more attentive to defining objective criteria and in advancing preservation and policy processes that are able to differentiate mere sentiment from documented evidence. The upshot of this is that professionalism was becoming more important, at the expense of amateur and popular enthusiasms. The resulting structure is both largely hierarchical and bureaucratic. The gist of this professionalization (and its limitations) is nicely encapsulated in Jensen's presentation to a group of scholars assembled by the Getty Conservation Institute. He refers to both the appeal to Ruskin and to positivist science as forms of an essentialism, in which value is inherent.[6]

We might try to escape the risk of making cultural heritage a dangerous ideological tool embedded in myths and grand national narratives by limiting the scope of cultural heritage. We can do this, for example, by defining cultural heritage as material objects – as artifacts, buildings, and so on created by our predecessors. And of course, such objects play an important role in any culture.

Limiting heritage in this way seems harmless enough. This strategy will not work, however, because selection and presentation of artifacts of the past are never neutral (Jensen 2000, 38-39).

Historically, Americans have also been somewhat ambivalent about extreme populism or extreme essentialism. Not oblivious to either the chauvinistic excesses at home, or the often incendiary nationalisms of Europe, nineteenth and early twentieth century American preservationists were quick to search for a less politically volatile basis for their endeavors. Particularity and science were a valuable support for making this distinction.

Following Ruskin, and the English aesthetic moralists, American preservationists developed an appreciation for particularity, and an aversion for speculative reconstructions. In this, they sided with Ruskin against Viollet-le-Duc. However, Ruskinian "piety," whether accepted at face value, or subjected to more critical scrutiny, was hardly an absolute defense against more "worldly" critics, even at the beginning of the twentieth century (Wright 1980). So it was that archaeological science became a valuable complement to aestheticism in American culture during this period. Science, and a culture of professionalism, proved to be an asset for preservationists entering a new era. The practices that focused attention on the authenticity, integrity, and significance intrinsic and essential to the artifact in question helped legitimate preservation practice.

Privatism

While the debates of preservation purists continue to this day, *critical* discussions of the relationship of historic preservation to real estate in the United States are few.[7] Robert Stipe (1987), in setting up his argument on how United States federal preservation policy is organized around "carrots and sticks," contends,

> *'The American system of preservation is more easily understood if one accepts at the outset that the core of the problem of preserving old buildings and neighborhoods is simply a matter of economics. If preservation efforts are to succeed, respect for what is called an owner's bottom line is of paramount importance (1987:5).'*

He goes on to distinguish this as an approach particular to the United States.

Unlike many other countries, in which land tends to be regarded as a scarce resource to be treated with care and respect, Americans always tended to view real estate as a marketable commodity whose principal purpose is to provide capital gains or income to its temporary owner. This view of land tends to insure that most of our important buildings, and the neighborhoods in which they are located, are lost as the result of two extreme economic situations, each being equally damaging.

These two extremes are an overheated market and a stagnant one, the former leading to demolition and land clearance, the latter to neglect and blight. While Stipe doesn't label his approach as privatism, both the policy and programs he describes are clearly related to how Squires defines this phenomenon. "Concretely, the policies of privatism consist of financial incentives to private economic actors that are intended to reduce factor costs of production and encourage private capital accumulation, thus stimulating investment, ultimately serving private and public interests" (Squires 2002, 242).

Entrepreneurialism

One interesting development in recent decades is the growing sentiment among preservationists that not all market benefits of preservation accrue to the owners of historic real properties. However, it seems these additional benefits are not fully public benefits either. Rather they are a form of direct economic benefit that can be realized by associating with a popular sentiment and economically exploiting it. In a policy environment where heritage tourism is a growing business sector, preservation "depends on how people combine the traditional economic factors of land, labor, and capital. But it also depends on how they manipulate symbolic languages of exclusion and entitlement" (Zukin 2002, 329). As used here, entrepreneurialism shares many of the characteristics of privatism, with one very significant difference. Entrepreneurialists seek to realize a gain not from direct property ownership, but from using peoples' associations to heritage for economic gain.

So, although the following quote appears similar to the argument made by Stipe, (introducing the section on privatism), the gist of the remark embodies a much broader sense of the market and monetary benefits of preservation:

> *First, heritage costs money....Second, heritage is worth money and also earns it, even if this economic value was not the reason for its creation nor the prime justification for its maintenance....These two simple propositions alone make it essential that heritage is approached as an economic phenomenon and part of a wider economic system (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000, 130).*

Ideology, Discourse, and Interest

What is not addressed in the above preservation discourse matrix is how this typology is operationalized in planning practice. Do privatists always associate with entrepreneurialists because of mutual interest in markets, or are entrepreneurialists as likely to ally themselves with populists? These questions and others must be addressed empirically, but not without a guiding framework.

While the nineteenth century rise of professionalism and the curatorial ideal, as espoused by Fitch, are clear in the literature, *how* these beliefs influence both political discussion and policy outcomes is left unclear. Within much of the existing literature specific to historic preservation, internally referential ideology is uncritically accepted as sufficient cause for decision-making and policy implementation (Tainter and Lucas, 1983) A further scan of the literature reveals that there are also a small number of scholars specifically interested in heritage and historic preservation who have attempted to connect the rhetoric and substance of preservation to issues of economic interest and power by way of language and culture. (e.g., Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000).

Even acknowledged and prominent preservation advocates are beginning to question a "preservation movement" dominated by professionals espousing an essentialist ideology independent of coalition building politics. The above described typology is offered as one possible systematic approach to approaching the diversity of ideological and policy perspectives.

Endnotes

1 The widely inclusive provisional definition of 'historic preservation' used here embraces policies and actions, both public and private, for purposes of retaining

and conserving "districts, sites, buildings, structures, objects, and landscapes," usually *in situ.* (See National Register Bulletin #15.) While 'historic preservation' is the most common term in the United States, 'cultural heritage management' is frequently used in other countries and in international agreements.

2 It is worth noting that the NHPA directly linked US law to the ideology of the Venice Charter. Arguably, many of these same features apply to the preservation policy environments in other countries.

3 The term 'populist' is used here as by Burke (1992) defines 'popular' to include both dominant ideologies, for example, patriotic and nationalist tendencies, on the one hand; and identities of resistance (e.g., class, gender, race, etc.) on the other.

4 Evidence of this dimension is less frequently discussed in the scholarly literature, and is more apparent in informal professional fora, such as conferences of practitioners, "list serves", and various grey literature reports.

5 As poppies are the raw material of heroin addiction, history is the raw material for nationalistic or ethnic or fundamentalist ideologies. Heritage is an essential, perhaps the essential, element in these ideologies (Hobsbawm 1993, 62).

6 "In the Ruskinian tradition – which is still alive – the particularity and value of an object inhere in the material used by the craftsperson" (Jensen, 2000, 43).

7 However, Costonis (1974) sets the stage for a move from regulatory toward market solutions with Space Adrift: Landmark Preservation and the Marketplace. More recently, Byard (1998) indirectly added some critical insight to the discussion with his monograph on the Architecture of Additions: Design and Regulation. Hamer (1998) discusses the preservation of multiple buildings through the use of historic districts in History in Urban Places: The Historic Districts of the United States

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REFLECTIONS ON HERITAGE VALUES: NEW CHALLENGES OF INTEGRAL AND INTEGRATED APPROACHES TO CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

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IN the majority of doctrinal texts, methodological recommendations and publications on heritage care today, "intrinsic" or inherent heritage values are taken as the starting point for the theory and practice of heritage work. Heritage values are defined by reference to carefully considered and agreed concepts and working methods; their relevance for the development of contemporary and future society is (re)recognized and they receive a new role and a new significance, making them socially usable for us today and tomorrow. In this way, heritage values are conserved for the future, enriched and apportioned a meaningful function in the framework of sustainable human(e) development.

The recognition of heritage values and the way in which they receive new significance is inextricably linked with the developments that the concepts of cultural heritage, conservation, and social development have undergone in the 20th century and in the first years of the 21st century. As well as shifts in content (from elite to vernacular, from a distant to a recent past, and from tangible to intangible heritage), writers point to the inherent inter-relationship of the intangible aspects of cultural heritage with expressions of any kind.

Most of the definitions that have been formulated by UNESCO, ICOMOS, and the Council of Europe list what can be included under the common denominator of cultural heritage. Heritage assets are recognized as significant for the identity or the sense of identity of communities and emphasize their function and significance for the development of society.

During the colloquium "Visions of Heritage in Flanders and Europe" organized by the Ministry of the Flemish Community in Antwerp in 2001; in the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage; and in the 2005 Council of Europe Framework Convention, the implicit intangible

aspects of heritage assets of all kinds were indicated. In 2005, the intangible aspects of heritage were further examined at the ICOMOS General Assembly in Xi'an. These consist essentially of the ideas, visions, concepts, processes, practices, knowledge, value systems, philosophical and social backgrounds and ideologies that are expressed in any form of cultural heritage and to which new values and significances for society are being constantly attributed. These aspects form the starting point for safeguarding of what is held to be important and necessary to conserve for future generations ("valuing," "revaluing") and of what is not longer held to be of value and rejected ("devaluing").

A particular focus of attention at the Antwerp colloquium was the cultural and geographic specificity of these attributed values, both in looking back to the past and at other contemporary cultures. It was quickly realized that both former societies and other contemporary cultures in other places and times have frequently found themselves confronted with the same problems of giving content and shape to their communal existence in their particular environments. Not only do we find them facing the same problems, but we see them also applying the same or related values. The ways these values have been attributed and implemented have differed only in time and place, producing the variation in images and characters between cultural landscapes from one time and place to another. This is particularly important for the role that cultural heritage and cultural diversity can play in the framework of policy to support and promote mutual respect, peaceful co-existence and ultimately worldwide peace (the essential aim of intergovernmental organizations like UNESCO). Insight into the "essential" similarities between values shaping culture and space in various cultures today and in earlier years – more specifically what all people and communities then and now have in common and what therefore can be viewed as essential for humanness – can open up ways of achieving this goal, as can insight into the origins of the incidental differences. These insights deserve more attention in educational work and in "substantial" heritage tourism in this policy context.

At the same time, the intimate and implicit interweaving of the intangible backgrounds and components of heritage with its concrete realizations and the constantly changing significance given to this relationship down the ages should be viewed as the essence of cultural heritage. Heritage is heritage only to the extent that the intangible backgrounds and values are constantly reinterpreted and shaped in the multitude of concrete forms of the expression of heritage, tangible

and intangible, that are anchored in the living environment.

The Council of Europe framework also adds an extremely important new element: the validity of cultural heritage for what are now called "heritage communities," that is, groups of people who attach value to specific aspects of their being bound together, which they wish to conserve through public action and transfer to future generations. A crucial point here is the shift from the "right of heritage" to these communities' "right to heritage."

Some of these concepts were further discussed in a colloquium, organized by the Province of Limburg in Alden Biesen in April 2006. The implicit coherence of visions, concepts, processes, and working methods with their tangible and intangible expressions is anchored spatially in cultural landscapes. These are the outcome of constant and advancing interaction of people among themselves and with their environment. Even more, they are the result of values and decisions that have left traces in the cultural history of a cultural landscape, which they have structured and on which those traces can be detected. This means that, from a purely methodological standpoint, one needs to take the cultural biography of a cultural landscape as one's starting point if one is to acquire an insight into the development of values and their impact on their living environment, before proceeding to define heritage values for today and tomorrow.

Integral and Integrated Approaches

The aim of such analysis is not simply to get to know the details of the cultural history of a local region, from which one may be able to derive products for educational purposes and cultural or heritage tourism. A cultural biography teaches us which backgrounds, trends and values have led to which decisions, good and bad, and to which consequences for society and the social environment. The results of such analyses are not only illuminating, but also provide the population at large with informed background input for their involvement in defining development strategies. Such results also determine the value of "Standards of Significance" or "Character Appraisals" that form the basis for socio-cultural and urban and rural development. The credibility of this "Establishment of Values and Significances" is dependent on the accuracy, completeness, in brief, the trustworthiness, of the information provided on the defined assets. Hence the need for professional, multidisciplinary, transparent and well-documented research.

In describing this thought process, we also need to emphasize that there is no inherent difference between the heritage values embodied in movable, immovable and intangible heritage assets. We are dealing with the same values differently expressed, interwoven with other values in one and the same spatial concept. Not only buildings but also objects exist "somewhere". Narratives, festivities, habits and customs are undertaken "somewhere" by a local population at locations that are meaningful for it. In addition, a local population, which is the party most directly concerned by the perception of cultural history and cultural heritage, makes no difference between the perception of landscape, town or village, or of movable heritage items in their churches, mosques, temples and museums, or of festivals, customs, habits and tales which live on in the community. Rather they perceive this as a single synthetic whole, not segmented into analytic, rational categories of "immovable", "movable", and "intangible" into which most government authorities responsible in the West for cultural heritage are structured. This leads us to the insight that the implementation of heritage values needs to take place across all heritage sectors together, in an integral heritage approach, in which the departments responsible for unmovable, movable and immaterial heritage adopt a common approach to heritage. Until now all heritage sectors (have) work(ed) in most cases separately, in parallel with one another. This is encouraged not only by the structure of government administrations, but also the differences in concepts, approaches, and working methods regarding conservation and management in the various heritage sectors. The visions, concepts and working methods for ensuring the continuity of living heritage assets like cultural landscapes, historical cities and villages, buildings and intangible assets are dynamic, creative processes that form an integral part of regional development along with all relevant partners and public participation.

These concepts and working methods differ from the conservation of objects in collections, museums, churches, or temples and on archeological sites, which can well change historical substance in interventions to safeguard the heritage assets, but which are intended essentially in order to manage processes of decay.

Whenever, on the other hand, the task in hand is to "unlock" heritage assets and to embed heritage values in social development processes, then concepts and working methods for integral and integrated heritage care need to be developed and organized with all relevant heritage partners and all relevant

groups of interests within development policy and practice. Not only within national management levels, but also internationally, there is too little structured cooperation between the Conventions and the international non-governmental organizations that concern themselves with heritage care. Such integral and integrated heritage management projects are right now at the pilot stage. Visions, concepts and working methods have been thought out, and are being applied and tested in various cultural contexts. However, the results of good practices are not yet known, and the training of professionals, policymakers and voluntary organizations from the various relevant sectors whose task it is to shoulder this type of responsibility has still to be tested, assessed and consolidated.

Finally, the most recent visions of the safeguarding of cultural heritage provide an important reference point. It is essential that the values defined in "Statements of Significance" or "Character Appraisals" be further developed creatively. Within the concept of change management this means ensuring the continuance of the cultural personality and *genius loci* of cultural landscapes, notwithstanding any discontinuous effects, by reinterpretation, updating and renewal of significance of the essential values that characterize the cultural landscapes in all their components. Taking into account what has been stated earlier to be the essence of cultural heritage, what we are in fact talking about is the full working out and creative continuance of the implicit relationship of intangible backgrounds and their expression in heritage assets, or ultimately the process of development of cultural heritage *tout court*.

The creative dynamism of this vision makes cultural heritage not only an inspiring source of value for continuity within the same disciplines of urban development, architecture, the visual arts, craftwork, and stage arts, but also permits cross-pollination with other sectors of contemporary art and culture. In this way, the specific character of a cultural landscape can form a source of inspiration for land, art, or music; an industrial archaeology site can inspire and bring into being a stage play dealing with social conditions a century ago; or new immigrations can form the basis for new narratives. Vice versa, architecture, sculpture, literature and music can also articulate and give shape to a new multi-cultural reality or enable a heritage landscape to be experienced intuitively. In this way, a cultural landscape evolves, cultural history takes on added value and "becomes" heritage.

This creative revaluation occurs within the framework of the "unlocking" of cultural heritage. This is a new approach to heritage care, following decades of placing the accent on the strict study, conservation, and presentation to the public of heritage assets. Unlocking goes further than presenting the content aspects of cultural heritage in educational or culture tourism products. Unlocking signifies the making the heritage values "sustainably" open to being experienced in the cultural, economic, natural and spatial dimensions of regional development. This is a constant, ongoing process, not a finished product or consumption article.

Heritage Values: The Heart of Heritage Care

Valuing is always connected with significance given to cultural tradition by heritage communities. A cultural biography reveals the evolving significance given by members of a society to cultural patterns or traditions and their valuation throughout history. Giving significance means at the same time valuing. When we want to value heritage resources we will have to attribute new significance to them, thus continuing and actualizing a historic process. The transition from cultural biography to the defining of heritage values that one wants to safeguard and creatively revalue is a key crossover point, where everyone involved needs to take seriously their respective responsibilities. We are born in a culture-historical context and are responsible, not as owners, but as temporary managers, for the quality of our living environment and that of those that come after us. It is impossible to preserve every cultural-historical asset. Nor must we. Certain historical values such as slavery, cruel ancient burial rituals and, more recently, women's low social position, have become history. With every decision to be taken we find ourselves on the borderline of what is to become past tense (history) and what is to become perfect or historical present tense (heritage), bearing in mind that the sources of history – oral history, archives and objects – are viewed and conserved as heritage for their informative, documentary value. The experience of heritage is therefore not only a matter of perceiving with all one's senses, but also includes intellectual cognition.

The image of sustainable, dignified human development forces us to adopt a global human ethic, a sense of citizenship and a very cautious attitude and very likely also a future-looking, visionary capacity, with as few radical and as many reversible interventions as possible. Values need therefore to be carefully identified.

In setting any values one is confronted in the first instance with the question of whether there are such things as transcendental and universal values, that apply in all times and cultures, and which can serve as universal criteria of evaluation, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1948). In the 1972 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage these principles are given as the limiting criterion for the protection and promotion of intangible heritage.

At the same time it is stated that significance-giving and evaluations are constantly evolving. Within heritage care, new values – environmental, social, symbolic and spiritual – have been gradually added to the more traditional historical, aesthetical and scientific values. On top of this, the prevalent values of today are also seen differently than in the past. Values like security, privacy or accessibility are interpreted differently today than in the Middle Ages or the 18th century. The evolution of burial rituals from simple interments to monumental ceremonies to sober customs reflect an evolving conception of death and the hereafter in various cultures. This is perhaps clearest in aesthetic values: works of art were at one time the result of a creative process. In applying aesthetic value today one is forced either to view the aesthetic value at the time of painting as a historical value or to make the aesthetics of the time accessible to contemporary perception.

Valuation is an essentially relative exercise, relative because we are dealing with the social attributions of members of a heritage community, who together attribute quality to objects, through which these objects acquire a value or, in the opposite case, are "devalued." These are categories of thought, determined by the constant confrontation of cultural history with changing social needs. Nor are these valuations always shared by all individuals or communities. Valuation is relative in both time and in space, in different cultures and over the centuries; relative for the heritage community, which attaches or promotes values, and relative owing to the interwovenness with other, at times contradictory, values in the same spatial context. It is important that Statements of Significance go further than simply listing the various heritage values, but also map out other possible conflicting values so as to give a total picture and permit a documented evaluation. It should be pointed out that the numerical sum of all values never fully characterizes or makes accessible the totality. Hence the importance of a global approach to a complex cultural and spatial reality.

Heritage is Information

It is possible to approach the whole problem of value definition from another angle, and to take as one's starting point the information value of cultural history and cultural heritage. In other words, to view and treat cultural history and heritage as information and to profile this gathered information, making it accessible for evaluation in the light of today's and tomorrow's social policy options.

All documents on the theory of heritage case point to the significance of cultural heritage for a knowledge of the past. The above-mentioned cultural biographies of cultural landscapes give an insight into the cultural backgrounds, into the changing significances and values which have been given to cultural patterns and have served as the basis of decisions that have ultimately had social and spatial consequences. This multidisciplinary historical research shows why things are as they are, providing substantial cultural information on backgrounds, values and impacts and offers a breeding ground for the identification of values and their statement of significance for us today. Further investigation can supply other additional qualifying information (metadata), which also belongs to the cultural information:

- *the importance of heritage elements and processes:* the rareness, uniqueness and representativeness of a certain kind of heritage asset and its culture-geographical importance (local, regional or international), pointing in each case to wider culture-geographical relationships and networks;

- *the degree of authenticity and integrity:* including not only the authenticity and physical integrity of the material aspects (shape and production of this shape, material and substance, use and function, tradition and technology, location and context, intangible aspects, spiritual and emotional components), but also the capacity to express and make legible the particular information.

Directed more at the capacity of the assets is information on their capacity for dynamic and creative innovation:

- *conditions for conservation*: the state of conservation, threats, and provisions to counteract these, for conservation and development;

- *the degree of coherence and inter-relatedness* (the overall significance) of intangible and tangible heritage assets with other values such as ecological or environmental values;

- *the degree of structuring capacity in a planning context:* as a basis for planning, potential and limitations for urban and rural planning, accessibility, safety;

- *availability for re-use and shared use by other sectors*: the capacity of receiving new functions without breaking apart the essential content; suitability for cooperation with the tourist industry, leisure activities, education;

- *sustainability aspects:* economic feasibility, the social function or usability, the way the heritage assets bind with nature and ecology;

- *the capacity to provide inspiration to other culture sectors:* the quality of the sensations produced, creative potential, symbolic emotional significance;

- *legibility:* image-forming capacity, illustrative capacity, comprehensibility, the 'eloquence'of the heritage asset.

Both the substantive and the qualifying information give an idea of the potential of heritage *qua* content and function. The qualifying metadata always provide a grading of the capacities and qualities. Additional qualifiers can be the degree of "evidence" or "eloquence or power of conviction" and the "excellence" of particular heritage assets for representing values from a particular culture or time and for achieving a predetermined objective. These help profile the collected information and give added weight to the argumentation for protection and revaluing.

Even so, in any assessment, the potential value of the material's potential must be assessed in the light of the policy vision guidelines. These "why" questions are intended to help direct the "what" and "how" questions, and offer new metadata and touchstones for decision-making. This confrontation can generate new and additional views on values.

Social Policy References

In the Romantic movement, heritage was used to undergird a cultural identity, based on a cultural and political ideology, which was more fiction and construction than fact. On top of this, this identity was then seen as an unchanging and unchangeable ideal, which in turn gave rise to "museumizing" conservation policies. The situation changed when identity began to be interpreted in socio-cultural and spatial terms and when there was a readiness to recognize more than one identity in a particular community and to view identity as a dynamic, evolving element. What we are dealing with here is meaning or the feeling of belonging to a social group, age, family, association, profession, village or town, with objects that one values and conserves – in other words, heritage – anchored in a specific spatial context. This creates socio-cultural spatial profiles, each with their own personality or character, in which the members of these cultural communities can find their bearings individually and as groups. The treatment and further development of this type of socio-cultural and spatial personality was promoted for immovable heritage by the Council of Europe in 1975, during its "Architectural Heritage Year." At that time the significance of heritage for the qualities of the socio-spatial living environment was emphasized. The concept and working methods for integrated heritage care were developed in the Amsterdam Declaration of the same year. What had applied until then primarily for immovable heritage was extended, in the above-cited integral and integrated heritage care, to all heritage sectors.

Of crucial importance is the extent to which the potential heritage asset contributes to development. Most texts make reference of the role of heritage in the framework of development: regional development, cultural and economic development, sustainable human development, and so forth. Yet development is a global and complex concept, covering economic and cultural development as well as the development of the natural environment. These are various sides of one and the same hill. In the concept of sustainable development, the "use" and

"consumption" of natural and heritage sources are limited so as not to despoil coming generations. Sustainable human development goes one step further and presents the conditions for a decent human existence, in other words for the well-being of everyone in their social and spatial environment, across all cultures. To realize the full import of this, it is important to return to the directives given in the final decades of the 20th century by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and by the World Commission for Culture and Development within UNESCO in the wake of the Brundlandt report on natural resources. Here the finality of development is stated to be the emancipation of individuals and communities to enable them to carry out in freedom what they deem to be humanly valuable for themselves and their communities.

These positions obviously start from a certain general image of human beings and society that is common to all cultures, but which is not yet followed nor put into practice by everyone. They are based on fundamental ideologies in this domain, it being implied that many cultures have still a long way to go to achieve the objectives of this vision of development and that they are assumed to be growing and being led/accompanied towards this finality. It is clear that the path to be taken will differ from one culture to the other, each with its own working methods and advancing at its own speed. This vision remains a general direction that can help shape the dynamic of heritage development. These positions invite us to consider what are possibly generally applicable values, in sharp contrast to the historical relativity of values and to the right of heritage communities to self-determined heritage. The question here is: to what extent does what we view and develop as heritage contribute to this vision of development?

The criteria for the impact of heritage care on society are rather vague and unclear, in contrast to the criteria set and applied by colleagues from the nature sector. If it is permitted to evaluate the information that we have gathered and profiled earlier in the light of this vision of development, then new and additional metadata and values such as "self-realization capacity" and "emancipation" come into play in measuring the performance of the potential heritage. Certain customs and habits that are viewed in their particular cultures as heritage and part of their identity tend to impose limitations rather than make for progress in this development perspective. This means that not all "heritage" must be conserved and that heritage should not be treated *per se*, but in a broader context of agreed development visions. The gulf between the current state of development and the

stated finality can be bridged in each culture, applying that culture's own specific working models and planning, and using in this process of adjustment the results of new research from other sectors like biology, natural sciences and education. Such positions are obviously highly delicate and politically charged.

We live in our own particular time and space, and have an obligation, both towards those who preceded us and those who come after us, to consider and apply our valuations conscientiously. We can do this only in good faith, aided by a little visionary inspiration, defined and limited by own time and space, hoping that we make no serious miscalculations in the process.

THE UNQUIET PAST: CULTURAL HERITAGE AND PLANNING PLURALITY OF FUTURES

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"The terms in which we make sense of the past are the ways in which our view of the past affects our posture in dealing with the future. The beliefs that shape our historical foresight represent (as German philosophers put it) our Erwartungshorizonten, or horizons of expectations. Those horizons mark the limits to the field of action in which, at the moment, we see it as possible or feasible to change human affairs, and to decide which of our most cherished practical goals can be realized in fact."

(Toulmin 1990:1)

THE abstracts book for the 3rd Annual Ename International Colloquium begins with challenges: "Heritage is now in the midst of a series of contradictory transformations. In some places, unprecedented levels of public and private funding have been applied to the cause of heritage conservation, yet in other places, the physical destruction, looting, and vandalism has never been so great… How will these contradictory heritage trends resolve themselves?" (Silberman 2007). These trends are not restricted to contemporary times. Research that goes against the grain of "meta-narratives" about the Birth of Modernity is illuminating analogous situations where the complexities of threats to existential and moral conditions of possibility for plurality of human heritage have been eclipsed by beliefs: (a) "that any new construction is truly rational only if it demolishes all that was there before" (Toulmin 1990: 173) and (b) that the heritage of "pre-moderns," "publics," the "mob" – in short, "others" – are obstacles to such "starting from scratch" (Koerner 2006). Some of today's most widely publicised images of "globalisation" and "risk management" exhibit such preoccupations (Koerner and Singleton 2007; Felt and Wynne eds. 2007).

Our aims in this short paper are to (a) show how strongly reflective approaches to the "heritage" controversies' embeddedness in ecological hazard, unsustainable development and political violence can (b) encourage appreciation

of the rationality, logic, and indeterminacy of plurality of public grounds of truth, and (c) help to democratise heritage's roles in contemporary society. Emphasis falls upon the value of shifting orientations from foci on monumentalised representations of the past (foci that have often been motivated by the aforementioned "myth of a clean slate") towards heritage's roles amongst the means to plan for a plurality of futures.

Heritage "in the Midst of a Series of Contradictory Transformations"

The humanities and social sciences may be at crossroads in their roles in the dynamics of local, national, and trans-national pedagogical institutions and public affairs. Debates over the relative merits of antithetical philosophical paradigms for "overcoming" dualist images of nature-culture, risk-heritage are nowadays a normative theme of the "critical" dimension of core course units. At the same time global media versions of these dichotomies render the histories of contemporary social geographies of ecological hazard, unsustainable development, and political strife invisible.

In *The Anthropology of Globalization* (Inda and Rosaldo eds. 2002: 2), the term refers to: "the intensification of global interconnectedness, suggesting a world full of movement and mixture, contact and linkages, and persistent cultural interaction and exchange. It speaks... to the complex mobilities and interconnections... of capital, people, commodities, images and ideologies – through which the spaces of the globe are becoming increasingly intertwined." For some, this "interconnectedness" may seem to be a universally shared experience of the world. At the core of today's knowledge-based political economies, they "click on worldmaking.connections" and the "screen fills with global flows... In the last ten years... many commentators imagine a global *era*, a time in which no units or scales count for much except the globe" (Tsing 2002: 254). But the findings of ethnographic studies of globalisation through the "prism of the local" (Miller ed. 1995), go against the grain of core-periphery models that treat "spread of western goods" as evidence of "the absorption of peripheral cultures into a... mass-mediated global marketplace" (Inda and Rosaldo 2002: 14). The most difficult questions posed are not about "modern western" material culture forms occurring in increasing numbers of places, but about how core-periphery images eclipse "discrepant experiences" (Said 1993) of "techno-science development," "knowledge-based political economies," "natural and

cultural heritage properties," and expanding "cultural tourism' industries" (Grillo et al eds. 1985; Stone et al eds. 1994; Funari et al eds. 1999 ; Layton et al eds. 1999; McManamon et al eds. 2000; Friedman 2001, 2002; Layton et al eds. 2001; Koerner 2001, 2004, 2005; Sassen 2002; Friedman 2002; Hirth et al eds. 2004).

Several concerns of the 3rd Annual Ename International Colloquium have roots in responses to "crises over representations" of the so-called Third World since the 1960s. In the midst of the collapse of Cold War institutional structures and controversies over "environmental risk," the 1989 meeting of the Association of Social Anthropologists focused on "History and Ethnicity" to explore questions about the historical significance of "cultural definition and self-definition," "how the past led to the present," and how "history is used, experienced, remembered and created." (Tonkin et al eds. 1989). Especially polemical disputes revolved around the "objectivity" of definitions of "ethnic groups," dualist characterisations of fact versus fiction, indigenous customs versus academic standards, and definitions and self-definitions of the human sciences and humanities. Much critical concern nowadays centres on the ways in which universalising generalisations about "cultural identity" obscure the difficult historical backgrounds and contemporary circumstances of the people and places these ideas refer to (cf. Rosaldo 1989). A highly problematic trend in both many academic circles and the public media has been treatments of struggles of indigenous communities as evidence of their having "become globalised" (Miller ed. 1995; Sassen 1996; Praznick and Dirlik eds. 2001). Analogous problems are reductions of these struggles to problems of knowledge (i.e. the supposed incommensurableness of "modern worldviews" and "traditional cultures." Images of "becoming globalised" or "holding on to tradition" obscure these peoples struggles "over their conditions of existence, conditions that have been denied to them at the very least... They have been marginalised in their own territories, boxed and packaged, and sometimes oppressed unto death... This struggle is not about culture as such, but about social identities which are constituted around cultural and experiential continuities that are only poorly mirrored in western categories, not least, in anthropological categories" (Friedman 2001: 53).

Several papers in the 2007 Colloquium centred on contradictory transformations of heritage in today's expanding metropolitan centres, where super-modern urban castles and subway "homes" of thousands of beggars share the same geographic co-ordinates. Clashes of "destruction and conservation of cultural heritage" (Layton, Stone and Thomas eds. 1999) are especially pronounced in

contexts of extreme unequal exposure to nuclear, chemical, and biological hazard, environmental perturbations, unsustainable development, and political violence. Discrepant experiences of "technological development and modernisation," and expert agencies intent upon exploiting the economic potential of "cultural heritage" are vivid amongst people of the so-called underdeveloped world who have been subject to forcible displacement, dislocation, and dispossession of morally and existentially salient landscapes, villages, activities and relationships (cf. Grillo et al eds. 1985; Layton et al eds. 1999; Friedman ed. 2002).

A problematic aspect of today's most powerful countries' heritage is the displacement of millions of people from their homes, which has accompanied preoccupations with technological means to modernisation (such as building huge dams, nuclear power plants, petrochemical industries, and investments in mechanised fishing industries and Green Revolution agricultural intensification) (Chada 1999: 157). This "heritage" has had profound impacts upon "indigenous" communities. Both industrialisation of products for the global market and cultural tourist industries' expansion have often involved these populations being forced to move due transformations of landscapes (including by extreme pollution) or being "relocated" by "developers." Ashish Chada's (1999) research on these processes suggests something of the roles played in these situations by beliefs mentioned earlier: "that any new construction is truly rational only if it demolishes all that was there before" (Toulmin 1990: 173) and that the heritage of "pre-moderns," "publics," the "mob" – in short, "others" – are obstacles to such "starting from scratch." Analogous problems concern current research on questions about "for whom and by whom have world heritage sites and monuments been managed." Henry Cleere (1999: 71-72) stresses the ubiquity of situations where the nomination of communities as "world heritage" has met strong opposition, and where officials interested in capitalising on the economic potential of monumental archaeological sites as tourist attractions decide to drive the indigenous communities off without making any provision for their re-housing.

Further examples include situations in the so-called "underdeveloped world" where indigenous rural communities, who have been subject to forcible dislocation by government and commercial "developers" (Guha et al 1988; Chadha 1999) have become the "attractions" of "cultural tourism" into the poorest urban slums (Sen 2004). This year "cultural tourism" is the organising theme of numerous international conferences, including 2007 meetings of Association of Social

Anthropologists (ASA) and the Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar. Struggles over "heritage," "politics of disaster," and "tourist attractions" are recurrent topics. The anthropologist, Atreyee Sen's response to this year's theme of the ASA exhibits self-reflexivity. The "S" words of the anthropology of tourism, "sun, sex, sea, sights and sand," she said, "should include slaughter, sleaze and salvation." Sen (2007) has carried out research in the slums of Calcutta on the "violence and voyeurism in viewing poverty in marginalised urban spaces." She is not as much concerned with the ways popular expeditions into slums areas reinforce stereotypes of "the primitive other," but with the impacts of the amoral gaze of tourist industries on public and private grounds of truth amongst the men and women of the urban poor.

Contextualising "Crises of Representation"

"The Future of Heritage" Colloquium touched upon a number of contradictory trends in the dynamics of academic institutions and wider human affairs. Many researchers coming from university departments, where "disunity" paradigms for methods and theory (together with "community participation") are the norm (Galison et al ed. 1996), are ill-prepared to challenge expectations on the part of commissioning and funding agencies of a unified knowledge "currency," which hinge upon:

- reductions of existential crises to problems of knowledge
- preoccupation with starting from "scratch"
- marginalising the logic and rationality of adaptations of local communities of "we".

Comparing John Carman's (2002: 4) research on *Archaeology and Heritage* (2002) with Cornelius Holtorf's approach to the question "Is archaeology a scarce resource?" (2001) is illustrative. Carman highlights the disunity of the heritage literature's "guides to practice, commentary, and research dealing with the practices and products of heritage". In contrast, Holtorf says that much "world" archaeological heritage management is based on the following tenets.

- Archaeological sites and objects are authentic, in other words, of true antiquity, and have a distinctive aura which fakes and copies do not have...
- Archaeological sites and objects are irreplaceable and non-renewable...
- In the modern Western world, archaeological sites and objects are in danger of being destroyed by forces such as changes in ground-water levels, deep ploughing, wars, industrial and housing development and the antiquities trade...
- Professional archaeologists save archaeological sites and objects from further destruction on behalf of future generations" (Holtorf 2001, 286-7).

Some might abandon the challenges these trends pose, with reference to ideas that "theory" (philosophy) has reached "the end of the road" (Bohman ed. 1996) or by reducing disagreements over unity and disunity paradigms, and discrepancies between expert and public experiences to ideas about these reflecting incommensurable worldviews or "alternative realities." Both options have immediate difficulties. "End of philosophy" theses clash with the decisive roles that powerful centres of today's global knowledge political economies assign to "ethical and cultural values expert agencies" (Felt and Wynne eds. 2007). The latter option fails to recognise that wars are not fought over "alternative realities," but different experiences of what matters in the world that we live in together (cf. Beck, Giddens and Lash 1996; Latour 2004; S. Koerner 2006).

It bears remarking that these situations are neither altogether unique nor part of anything like a necessary continuum. Analogous situations date back to ancient Athens and the earliest horizon of Platonist and Aristotelian images of Reason, Necessity and threats posed by the "mythmakers" of the rulers, gods, and publics are all said to be driven by "fear of contingency."

> *And do you see, I said, men passing along the walls carrying all sorts of vessels, and standards, and figures made of wood and stone and various materials, which appear on the wall? Some of them are talking, others silent. You have shown me a strange image, and they are strange prisoners. Like ourselves, I replied; and they see only their own shadows,*

or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave (Plato, parable of the cave, Politics, VII 515b 1999).

The passage above was written in the midst of social economic and health crises in the Greek city-state. It was intended to illustrate Plato's argument that the most fundamental causes of the "state of emergency," and threats of "war of all-against-all" were the public's fears of uncertainty and susceptibility to the deceits of irrational myths and images. Plato believed that the foundations for new relations between "cosmos" and "polis" required not only philosophical censorship over mythmakers, but inventing "opportune falsehoods" or "noble (or golden) lies" in order to address supposed problems of the "public's" fears and susceptibilities to "idolatry." Analogous "crises over representation" have occurred in tandem with numerous struggles over pedagogical authority and political sovereignty since the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), and alongside the 20th century's myriad efforts to settle world war, Cold War, and post-colonial conflict.

Dialectics of Risk and Heritage

The last decades have seen "risk" become increasingly important to powerful knowledge-based political economies. Today, research and teaching risk management (climate change, nuclear, chemical, and biological hazard or cultural heritage issues) have highly institutionalised roles as sources of policy authority at local, national and international levels. Indeed, "risk-governance" may figure amongst the most "contradictory transformations" of debates both about the importance of techno-science to (sustainable) economic development and the "future of heritage."

Ulrich Beck's insights of the "globalisation" of "risk society" are useful for developing strongly reflective approaches to some of the ways in which "heritage" controversies are embedded in uncertainties of ecological hazard, unsustainable development and political violence. Beck's approach has roughly two foci. One centres on ecological and social consequences of the momentum of techno-science, which elude institutions that were established by "modern" industrialised nation-states for control and protection. For Beck (1992: 55) "the latency phase of risk threats is coming to an end. The invisible hazards are becoming visible. Damage to and destruction of nature no longer occur outside our personal experience in the sphere of chemical, physical or biological chains of effects; instead they strike

more and more clearly our eyes, ears and noses." Risk is not reducible to physical phenomena (climate change, nuclear, chemical and biological hazard):

- Physical risks are always created and affected in social systems.
- The magnitude of the physical risks is therefore a direct function of the quality of social relations and processes.
- The primary risk, even for the most technically intense activities (indeed perhaps most especially for them) is therefore that of social dependency upon institutions and caters to who may be – and arguably are increasingly – alien, obscure and inaccessible to most people affected by the risks in question (Lash & Wynne 1992: 4).

Much of the importance of the industrialisation and commercialisation of techno-science research to expansion of today's knowledge-based political economies has revolved around reduction of wider difficulties of scientific uncertainty to propositional statements about the magnitude and probability of allegedly known "risk" (Felt and Wynne eds. 2007). Problematic relations between these developments and their wider social contexts are being increasingly turned over to emergent ethical and cultural values governance agencies (cf. Stengers 1997).

Highly mathematical and technical propositional statements do not remove the historically contingent embeddedness of "risk." For Beck (1992) one of the most difficult challenges is that of addressing the confusion over the impacts on capacities of natural and engineering sciences to manage risk of public responses. Beck is particularly concerned with questions like: What sources of mistakes and errors are systematically built into scientific classification of "risk," which only become visible in the reference horizon of public controversies? And how does describing these controversies as "irrational" and/or due to fear of contingency and deficits of scientific understanding impede the constructive potential of critically and constructively reflective efforts to democratise orientations towards sustainability?

The subtitle of Beck's *Risk Society* is "Towards a New Modernity" (1992). It refers to Beck's hopes that people overcome the roles that computer based informational and communicational structures play in "privatising ethics" and "globalising indifference" (cf. Arendt 1989 [1958]; Beck 1994; Koerner 2004). These structures, for Beck, free individuals at the core of knowledge-based political economies from hitherto predominant norms, giving rise to conditions of possibility

for both "reflexive modernity" and democratising "reflection" upon discrepant experiences of contemporary human affairs.

Heritage as Planning

It is now very long ago that Walter Benjamin (1994 [1940]) called attention to the normative roles of "state of emergency" in modern times. He looked to the arts to find expressions of discrepant experiences of contemporary society, which go against the grain of political ideologies that render invisible the barbarity of what some have called "civilising" processes. For Benjamin (1994 [1940]) Paul Klee's painting, *Angelus Novum,* expressed such public grounds of truth. The angel looks out from the canvas towards the past, its back to future conditions of possibility. Benjamin said: this is how to depict consequences of claims to universality. You and I experience lots of events, lots of incomprehensible conditions. The angel sees only one supreme risk, one catastrophic hurling wreckage.

Benjamin spoke too early and too late. Throughout the 20th century, phantasmagorical ideologies have been employed to legitimate the marginalisation, exploitation, and oppression, to death, of "minorities." Many of the same sorts of images come back again and again. In the 1970s, Theodore Adorno argued that critical theory faces unprecedented dialectics of culture and barbarism – but we cannot do without culture. We need culture for social relations of trust and history. There is no starting from scratch as recurrent "myths of the clean slate" would claim (Toulmin 1990). Plurality of heritage can widen *Erwartungshorizonten* – aspirations for what humans can be and in what sort of human world.

Beck's work clearly reflects considerable awareness of these issues. He argues that many aspects of "reflexive modernity" impede democratising critical reflection upon contemporary circumstances, for example, by promoting "reflexive" (unintended) preoccupation with "bads" rather than "goods" and with "living one's own life in a runaway world." While the topic is likely to require many pages of illustration elsewhere, it bears noting in the present context that such preoccupations may help to illuminate some of the most problematical manifestations of the current expansion of the "cultural tourism" industries. Here, however, we focus on showing how strongly reflective approaches to the embeddedness of "heritage" controversies in the dynamics of social geographies of ecological hazard, unsustainable development and political violence can help

to democratise heritage's roles in contemporary society.

A useful point of departure is Brian Wynne's (1996) critique of tendencies of Beck and Anthony Giddens' (1994) perpetuating dichotomies of "expert and lay knowledge" with their "juxtaposition of the "propositional" and determinate knowledge of science on the one hand and the "formulaic", indeterminate knowledge of lay public on the other (Lash, Szersynski and Wynne eds. 1996: 59). Wynne has long argued that science is pervaded with diverse indeterminate and formulaic communications and practices, including "ritualisations of rationality" (1982, 2001) and cosmological "master narratives" that conflate general social "progress" with technological "advance" (Felt and Wynne eds. 2007). He also stresses that a "logos of practical and theoretical reason is always already present in the language and truths of lay social actors" (Lash, Szersynski and Wynne 1996: 7). What is especially relevant about this emphasis is that it brings into sharp relief the importance to democratising heritage of finding new approaches to the roles of realms classified as "public" in bringing about major historical change.

Interest in developing such approaches is nowadays growing in fields of "planning sustainable development," in particular, on the part of those specialised in urban planning who stress that "if a process is continued into the future, the conditions necessary to support the process will not be impaired" (Byrne 1998). What is at stake with sustainability is not reducible to an existential, cultural and moral matter, and some have argued that "in order to imagine the plurality of cities, we should translate them into narratives" (Sandercock 2004). Following Alasdair MacIntyre: "I can only answer the question "What am I to do" if I can answer the prior question, "of what story am I a part" (quoted in Sandercock 2004: 137). This orientation has profound implications for shifting perspectives in heritage research, teaching and policy implementation from foci on "monumentalising the past" to concerns with "lived heritage" (cf. Rodwell 2004; Koerner and Russell eds. 2007). But one of the challenges such an approach faces is the persisting tendency to treat "narratives" as somehow lacking the rationality and logic (or the "logos of the practical and theoretical reason of science"). This tendency underwrites the continuing reinvention of new versions of environmental risk– ethics and cultural heritage dichotomies. Wynne's arguments have considerable predecessors in the long history of arguments for the "poet-orator" rather than the "philosopher-king" as pedagogical and political ideal. The expression "public grounds of truth" is a rough translation of the Italian expression, *publici motive del vero*. Like "narrative"

and "performance," the expression comes from a history of arguments for making explicit the rationality and logic of the means whereby everyday people create spaces for debating matters of social and moral accountability.

In the works of Giambattista Vico (1948 [1744], NS/ 149-150) these spaces are created through poetic practices rather than in standardised rules; expressed by the arts as well as by authoritative cosmologies; and sustained by popular customs (that are said to differ from "official laws" not in kind but in sources of power). Vico drew insights from the long history of arguments about the philosophical significance of "heritage" amongst means to create spaces for debating plurality of public grounds of truth, which are of antiquity no lesser than those of Platonist and Aristotelian (1996) traditions. Especially influential arguments have centred on practitioners of the "art of memory" (poet-orators) as pedagogical and political ideal e.g., Horace (65-8 B.C.) and Cicero (106-43 B.C.). Cicero's account of how the "poet-orator," Simonides of Ceos, invented this art has been of lasting importance (*De Oratore* 1942, II, lxxxvi: 351-354; cf. Yates 1966: 1-26). For Cicero and other traditions for the pedagogical and social significance of the "poet-orator," understanding **how** the art of memory originated is grasping the emergence of the conditions of possibility for historical interpretation and philosophy.

In Cicero's approach, the context was a banquet given by a noble of Thessaly (Scopas) at which Simonides chants a lyric poem. Scopas objects that he will pay only for half of the panegyric, since it praised not only him but also the twin gods Cator and Pollux. At this moment, Simonides is summoned to go outside to meet two travellers who wish to see him. Outside Simonides finds no one and as he starts his return, the banquet hall roof collapses crushing everyone beyond identification. Now Simonides is commissioned to chant a poem of recollection – one that will identify the otherwise unknown and unrecognizable victims of the event. At first, he does not know how he can do this. Then, using the architectural remains as a mnemonic aid, he chants the poem he presented at the ill-fated banquet again – this time with the names and honorary memorials of the people lost in the event by their living families and neighbours.

Simonides' invention of the art of memory shows how places (*loci)* act in the recollection of words as well as people, places and events. It also illustrates key formal requirements of poet-orators' conception of philosophy's tasks: a sequential framework and recognized conventions for structuration and an element of explanation that makes explicit the moral and/or philosophical implications of

our world. The first relates to the idea that "poetic wisdom" depends on a grammar or logic of poetic tropes (*verba translata* = words with transferred meanings). The most elementary forms of "poetic logic" are said to be structured around at least four types of tropes (or figures), which transfer meanings in four logically predictable ways: (1) from one thing to something similar (metaphor); (2) from cause to effect or visa versa (metonymy); (3) from the whole to the parts (synecdoche); and (4) from one thing to its opposite (irony). The aforementioned second group of requirements relates to likewise ancient ideas of poetry as expressive communicative creation, with powerful potential for changing the *sensus communis* of a particular situation. In their classical formulations, poetic practice could be understood as consisting of five parts, including: (1) *inventio*: finding the relevant arguments; (2) *dispositio*: arranging them in effective order; (3) *elocutio*: choosing appropriate language; (4) *memoria*: memorizing the speech; and (5) *pronuncia*: delivering it.

Cicero's account of the beginnings of the "art of memory" challenges views that public grounds of truth lack rationality and logic. It shows how we use our capacities for *poesis* to rationally make our implicit experiences explicit (to transform "know-how" into "knowing that"), and to logically express how we are able to do so. It shows the materially embedded ethical mutuality of rational accountability and the reasons why we believe such and such to be the case (cf. Brandom 1996; Barnes 2000). And it demonstrates the logic that enables us to show one another why we believe which of these reasons count. In Cicero's account, heritage figures essentially amongst the means we employ to reflect upon and debate different views on a common sense of what matters about past, present and future conditions of possibility.

Conceptualising "heritage" as planning can help democratise its roles in contemporary society. It can shift perspectives from notions of heritage as a monumentalised representation of the past (which has often been another expression of preoccupations to start from scratch) towards an orientation that stresses its roles amongst rational and logical expressive means available to create space for planning a plurality of futures. Perhaps much of the value of considerations of philosophical, political economy and community participation aspects of the "contradictory heritage trends" may hinge upon understanding their embeddedness in "discrepant experiences" of social geographies marked by radical inequalities respecting exposure to ecological risk, unsustainable development and political conflict. And much of the values of efforts to democratise heritage's roles in

contemporary and future society may relate to issues that a "common world" with a "shared heritage" is not something that is given but (if there going to be one) something we have to build together (cf. Latour 2004).

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RETHINKING CONSERVATION

EVOLUTION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH APPLICATIONS TO CULTURAL HERITAGE

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IT is necessary to start by defining some concepts when looking into the process of when and how scientific and technological research began participating significantly in the preservation of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is not a static collection of material components but a complex and dynamic multi-component process. To be effective in their judgment and choices, scientists must utilize other areas of knowledge and participate in defining cultural heritage, identifying its values, determining what role they play, and how they are assessed. Limitations in time and resources require a responsible selection and prioritization of research subjects, namely what should be done first, and why. Evolving society – as the entity responsible for the recognition of what is included in cultural heritage – provides the researchers with the basic elements to make that selection. Only then can an effective participation of science and technology in the preservation processes be achieved.

The current state of development, particularly the capacity to analyze large quantities of data with information technology provides the tools to allow a comprehensive integration of areas of knowledge involved in the preservation of cultural heritage. A holistic approach is needed when addressing the future role of research applied to the enhancement of cultural heritage values and their preservation. The objectives of scientific research applied to its preservation cannot limit themselves to the material aspects. An isolated, purely technical design can pose a great risk by potentially focusing on the wrong issues, thus missing the important ones. The design of this type of research is a complex process; the involvement of many other areas of knowledge is needed. Real interdisciplinarity is the only way forward when it comes to the decision making process of conservation science research planning.

Brief Historical Overview

For the purpose of this analysis I shall concentrate on laboratory-based scientific studies starting with the Industrial revolution in Western Europe. This subject has lately attracted the attention of conservation scientists interested in analyzing the current situation and needs on the base of the historic evolution of the role of science in cultural materials research, (S. Simon, 2005 and 2006). Relevant scientists were dedicating attention individually, already since the 18th century to the characterization of materials of artistic and archaeological character. As referred to by Caldararo (1987) and by Rees-Jones (1990) pioneering work and several significant publications appear in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, particularly in the areas of inorganic analysis (pigments and metals) as well as in paper and parchment.

The art research field in the 19th century was marked by European imperial expansion. The taste for "antiquities," the fashion for archaeology started by the sensational news coming from Schliemann's excavations, attracted the attention of a large audience. Significant national prestige-enhancing collections were established in capitals such as Paris, London and Berlin. This process ran parallel with the dynamic introduction of science and technology into everyday life. The moment was right to institutionally involve scientific research in this field.

The first laboratory dedicated exclusively to the study of cultural heritage collections in a museum, the "Research Laboratory at the Royal Museums at Berlin", was established in 1888 (Gilberg 1987). The vast archaeological collections arriving from the Middle East needed urgent attention due to the rapid changes observed as a result of their removal from their original environment. The objective of this laboratory, later named after its first director, Dr. Friedrich Rathgen, was to learn about the objects and their composition and to understand the causes of the problems and work towards the preservation of these collections. Systematic scientific research thus entered the field due to conservation requirements.

The Berlin example was soon followed by other western museums and up to World War II most major museums in Europe and the USA, starting with the British Museum, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Louvre, and others had established their laboratories and developed a professional staff charged with studying their collections. Until then, scientific publications focused mainly on the characterization of materials. This type of research was then and still is today the first step in approaching cultural heritage material preservation, since

it is essential to know the composition and the technologies which made their fabrication possible before embarking in conservation studies.

After World War II, new institutions were created and modern technologies were applied to study and restore cultural heritage materials. Universities, particularly in the area of archaeology, promote studies related to define age, ancient technologies, and various material aspects of culture. The need for ethical and theoretical support for these activities was answered by the publication in 1963 of Brandi's *Teoria del Restauro*, which has become a basic reference in conservation/restoration discussions. With this publication, which has since been translated into many languages, Cesare Brandi provided restoration professionals with a theoretical background to address the challenges of the decision-making process in art restoration.

In the area of monuments and historic/archaeological sites, the professional community actively engaged in the recovery and restoration of worldwide damaged heritage is involved in the discussion and the development of guidelines and theoretical frameworks to support restoration and protect heritage from amateurish and irresponsible actions. The most significant product of this action, promoted by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), is the 1964 international agreement known as the Venice Charter, which provides an ethical framework for the profession in the areas of conservation of architecture, monuments, and sites. The Venice charter and Brandi's *Teoria del Restauro*, have provided since then guidelines and definitions on conservation issues. These have been particularly influential in Europe and the Americas and continue to be discussed and revised. Further charters, such as the Burra Charter in Australia or the China Principles, 2004 are corollaries, which set forth professional guidelines adapted to specific cultural contexts and realities.

Starting in the early 1960's, conservation institutions in charge of research and development have been established in Belgium, France, the UK, The Netherlands, Germany, Spain, the former Soviet Union, Eastern European countries, the USA, Canada, Japan, India and Latin America. These are either national or private institutions, (such as the Getty Conservation Institute), while others are branches of universities, museums or specific collections.

The Development of the Specialization

The main interests of scientific research in the second half of the 20th century focused either on authentication, dating, or ancient technological studies, giving form to the main archeometric research direction. Other research focuses on the study of decay processes and the development of new restoration materials and techniques, which properly defines conservation science.

Turning our attention to the latter, novel analytical techniques have been introduced to the field and significantly support the characterization work needed for the studies as well as for the development of compatible, reversible and appropriate restoration materials and processes. Increased use of synthetic polymers in industry and daily life has resulted in the introduction of these products in restoration practice. Many publications and commercial products have appeared in the field promoting and proposing new methods for impregnation, coating, water repelling, and consolidants for wood, mortars, stone, and other materials. Polymers of all sorts have been introduced, ranging from sodium silicate to acrylics, epoxies and silicon based polymers. Some products have proven extremely useful and have become standard restoration materials, such as protection coating materials against weathering, varnishes, consolidants, and adhesives. Yet haste and sometimes inadequately tested products have also been responsible for extensive damage to materials at some significant monuments and sites, being sometimes used on a large scale.

The final decades of the 20th century are characterised by an awareness of environmental damage and the need to act upon it. The effect of pollution on monuments, sites, and objects has become a new focus of concern and research. The 1990 US "Clean Air Act", also known as "acid rain program" is a good example of this. For the proposed treatments, polymers play a significant role in conservation efforts. Undoubtedly, the strong influence of science and technology in the field has brought a significant change and advances in the knowledge as well as in the protection strategies for cultural heritage materials. Although lack of communication and understanding between the scientists involved and the conservation/restoration professionals remains a hurdle, the field has nevertheless advanced rapidly, incorporating innovations into practice. Science is taught in university curricula for movable and immovable heritage conservation. It is now possible for scientists to enter this field and conduct research towards the academic degrees of a Master in Science and Doctorate.

The objective during the last 20 years has not only been to synthesize and introduce new restoration products, but to better understand the interactions between the materials and the environment. Externally introduced pollutants and those generated indoors by micro-environments have been significantly studied, resulting in museum and collections guidelines. This approach concerns itself with the compatibility of different materials, the design of display cases, the definition of "safe" environmental parameters, and so forth. The characterization of materials and the development of new products have continued to make new contributions to conservation praxis. Contemporary conservation challenges require an expansion and broadening of the questions, making interdisciplinarity the indispensable premise.

In the 1990's, preventive conservation was first introduced as a specialty. Its main concern was not to restore, but to assess and prevent damage. This goal requires studies related to a combination of effects including temperature, relative humidity, pollutants, light, and mechanical vibrations on the materials of the cultural heritage objects under study. Science plays a fundamental role in this approach. New and highly sensitive analytical techniques, such as various types of chromatographies supported by mass spectrometries have been widely used to detect minor amounts of potentially damaging or decay-producing agents in the environment or in the materials. Environmental aging chambers proved useful in better assessing performance of materials and treatments; simple measuring and monitoring devices for temperature, relative humidity, control of pollutants, and light intensity have become standard instruments in heritage conservation practice. Hand in hand with all the new knowledge on the interaction between environmental parameters and materials comes the need to assess the damage they may cause.

Conservation is a multifaceted process which aims to preserve for posterity the most significant values of cultural heritage. Thus science contributes to assess the factors that may pose a risk to the preservation of the materials and their values. Through interdisciplinary team work, scientists and other heritage conservation professionals identify what and how much can be done, when and why. Materials science applies evaluation techniques developed by other branches of research to understand how significant potential risks are to cultural heritage, how much each one of this risks may affect its values, and how likely and extensively are these processes to occur.

This analytical discussion technique, which requires substantial knowledge about the performance of various materials and which involves input from conservators and managers from the outset, allows for better defined research strategies and allocation of resources. The evolving methods of risk assessment evaluation, a specialty among conservators and conservation scientists (J. Ashley-Smith, 1999 and R. Waller, 2003), provide scientists and collection managers with a decision-making tool for future actions and to define needs for immediate preventive or active conservation.

The studies resulting from a combination of risk assessment and preventive conservation help better guide the field by providing the required strategic interdisciplinary working platform. The new materials and techniques employed in modern and contemporary art, the role of the artist's intended message, the use of contemporary polymer-based compounds and the mixing of materials, and finally the use of new electronic media, all pose new and interesting challenges to all those involved in the conservation process. Presentation methods of traditional ethnographic collections are currently being rethought; it is no longer a question of showing objects out of context of but presenting their range of meanings and preserving their integrity. In this respect, the close relationship of the conservation of ethnographic collections and that of contemporary art collections becomes more evident.

New concepts need to be developed regarding such important themes as authenticity and value assessment. Although the scientist needs direct interaction with the curator and the conservator, it is crucial for them to decide precisely what to focus on. Several important questions must be asked: How significant is the preservation of the object's material components? What are the values and messages carried by those materials? In electronic and video art, what is to be preserved? How do you preserve electronic carriers of cultural information? Where does the authenticity lie in digital heritage: in the hardware or in the software? How does one deal with preserving installation art? Such questions can be answered effectively only by the establishment of interdisciplinary team work.

Technological Trends in the Present

Current developments in research subjects and instrumentation respond to new challenges and set new trends in conservation science. The main objectives are the following:

- Focus on the dynamics of change, materials decay studies, and preservation techniques.
- Monitor change and capture relevant information using advanced technological documentation technologies.
- Introduce accurate, transportable and non-invasive technologies, which allow studies without or with minimal sampling and transportation of the objects. In other words, the laboratory moves to the field and not the objects into the laboratory
- Development of technically supported decision-making instruments to help formulate conservation and research decisions.

The vision of cultural heritage as a treasure to share, display, and study widely, expands the traditional audiences, making it available for consumption by more than the very few. This results in an increase in the number and complexity of temporary exhibitions in museums, galleries, and public spaces in general. Indeed, the exponential increase in object mobility and tourism has utterly transformed the field. The trend towards mass consumption of cultural heritage represents a form of globalization, which, while democratizing and making cultural heritage more significant to society as a whole, brings another special challenge to preservation.

An area in which science and technology are making a substantial contribution is in evaluating the effects of traveling on objects lent for exhibitions as well as the impact of visitors and public activities of all kinds on objects, monuments and sites. Studies related to environmental changes, vibrations, and dust, among other factors, are being conducted to determine their effects, establish guidelines, and offer objective information to decision-making bodies. The existing institutions and organizations involved in research are insufficient on their own to address all the new, problems and questions in cultural heritage preservation because those problems have become they have become more complex and global and because they require much more interdisciplinary information and

frameworks for interdisciplinarity. In many cases, funds for these activities are decreasing while the demands of the field are increasing. This poses a crucial challenge for the scientists.

The research community in Europe, supported by the European Community, is reacting by creating and actively participating in interdisciplinary international networks. These structures allow addressing more complex problems, which would be too difficult for individual institutions to take on. These networks contribute to the exchange of information, including the "grey" non-published information made accessible via metadata, i.e. INCCA, research networks including development of instrumentation and technologies, i.e. EU-ARTECH and projects including museums, research institutions, universities, and private developing companies, i.e. Fing-Art-Print, are developing new knowledge, instrumentation and practical applications.

Conservation science as such is currently not a specialty at the university level. The Active conservation scientists have a science degree, and some also have a conservation degree and have developed their skills in working at or with conservation research institutions. This is not efficient and does not allow for academically-oriented research and education at higher levels. The European Community has taken the initiative to support the development of an academic curriculum for conservation scientists via a pan-European research project (CURRIC). At this moment, a new pilot project, EPISCON, is also being supported by the EU. This project integrates conservation research institutions, museums, and universities to allow science graduates to conduct academic research oriented towards obtaining an internationally recognized PhD. in the specialization of Conservation Science. This is a first, which in the future will potentially open options at universities to offer this kind of degree, giving the field a new and better-trained research resource.

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UNESCO'S MANDATE AND STRATEGY IN HERITAGE CONSERVATION

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FOR many years the Tangible Heritage Section of UNESCO's Division of Cultural Heritage was responsible for all operational projects for the safeguarding of monuments and sites. The World Heritage Centre was created in 1992 to strengthen UNESCO's action in favour of World Heritage sites. In order to streamline responsibilities, the Director-General abolished the Tangible Heritage Section in January 2006 and integrated its 16 staff into the Intangible Heritage Section, the newly created Museums Section and the World Heritage Centre. Responsibility for operational safeguarding projects was also redistributed: all projects for sites on the World Heritage List or on national Tentative Lists are now dealt with by the World Heritage Centre; all other sites by the relevant UNESCO field offices.

In spite of its limited means in terms of personnel and funding, UNESCO continues to act for the safeguarding of the world's heritage. The Preamble to UNESCO's Constitution which states that "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed..." and Article I of its Constitution which assigns the task of "the conservation and protection of the world's heritage of books, works of art and monuments of history and science..." give the Organization the double mandate for peace building and heritage conservation. The safeguarding of all aspects of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, including museums, monuments, archaeological sites, music, art and traditional crafts, is of particular significance in terms of strengthening cultural identity and a sense of national integrity after periods of civil unrest or armed conflict. In recent years, cultural heritage has increasingly become the target of deliberate military destruction, aiming at harming the opponent's cultural identity or trying to sever the cross-cultural connections between different ethnic groups. However, cultural heritage can also become a point of mutual interest for former adversaries, enabling them to re-build ties, to engage in dialogue and to

work together in shaping a common future. On the basis of UNESCO's double mission to build peace and to protect cultural heritage, UNESCO's strategy is to assist in the re-establishment of links between the populations concerned and their cultural history, helping them to develop a sense of common ownership of monuments that represent the cultural heritage of different segments of society. This strategy is therefore directly linked to the nation-building process within the framework of the United Nation's mandate and concerted international efforts for rehabilitating countries after armed conflicts.

During recent decades, UNESCO has acquired a strong experience in post-conflict activities in many countries immediately after hostile action had ceased. This led to the development of a post-conflict strategy for cultural heritage which comprises four complementary and simultaneous elements:

1. The conservation and restoration of monuments of high symbolic significance.

2. Emphasis on the socio-economic impact of heritage restoration.

3. Reintegration of conflict groups in cultural processes.

4. Recreation and strengthening of the cultural identity of a people.

With reference to UNESCO's Constitution and the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, policies and activities for the safeguarding of cultural heritage focus on training and capacity-building activities related to the preservation of cultural heritage. Perhaps one of the most important activities after armed conflicts is the conservation – and in rare cases, even the reconstruction – of symbolic monuments.

Conservation and Restoration of Monuments of High Symbolic Significance

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of the reconstruction of a highly symbolically charged monument is the Old Bridge of Mostar. The bridge, designed by the renowned Ottoman architect Sinan, connects the Croat and Bosnian areas

of Mostar and was destroyed in 1993 during the armed conflict. Since 1998 many restoration projects were carried out in the area of hostilities, most notably the rebuilding of the Old Bridge under the aegis of UNESCO and the World Bank. The rebuilt bridge was solemnly inaugurated on 23 July 2004 by UNESCO's Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura. In the following year, the bridge and old town centre of Mostar were inscribed on the World Heritage List under cr*iterion (vi):* "With the 'renaissance' of the Old Bridge and its surroundings, the symbolic power and meaning of the City of Mostar – as an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds – has been reinforced and strengthened, underlining the unlimited efforts of human solidarity for peace and powerful co-operation in the face of overwhelming catastrophes."(Decision 29COM 8B.49, 2005, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/946). The symbolic act of joining the Croat and Bosnian areas of Mostar with the bridge provides a first step to build peace and mutual trust in the local community thus hopefully laying the foundations for a lasting reconciliation between both groups.

Another recent example is Bamiyan in Afghanistan, where neglect and intentional destruction severely compromised its important monuments. Immediately after the collapse of the Taliban regime in December 2001, UNESCO sent a mission to Bamiyan to assess the condition of the site and to cover the remaining large stone blocks with fibreglass sheets protecting them from the harsh winter. A project preparation mission to Bamiyan was then undertaken in October 2002, during which it was noted that over 80% of the mural paintings dating from the 4th to the 9th century AD in the Buddhist caves have disappeared, either through neglect or looting. In one cave, experts even found tools of the thieves and the remains of freshly removed paintings. In response to this situation, a contract was immediately concluded with the local commander, who provided ten armed guards to be responsible for the permanent surveillance of the site, and no further thefts have been reported since that time. It was also noted with concern that large cracks had appeared in and around the niches where the Buddha statues had previously been situated, which could lead to the collapse of parts of the niches and inner staircases. The experts carried out complementary measurements and advised on appropriate actions to consolidate the cliffs and the niches.

As a result of this mission, the Japanese Foreign Ministry generously approved a UNESCO Funds-in-Trust for the Safeguarding of the Bamiyan site with a total budget of $1,815,967, followed in May 2005 by a second phase in the amount of $1,300,000. ICOMOS financed the restoration of a Sunni mosque and another building, both of which are located in close proximity to the niche of the large Buddha. The aforementioned building is now used to accommodate the guards, and to store the project equipment.

Figure 1. Bamiyan, Consolidation work on Small Buddha Niche.
© Margottini/UNESCO

During the First Plenary Session of the International Coordination Committee for the Safeguarding of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (ICC) organized in June 2003, a number of recommendations were made for the safeguarding of Bamiyan. It was notably recommended to give priority to the consolidation of the extremely fragile cliffs and niches, the preservation of the mural paintings in the Buddhist caves, as well as the preparation of an integrated Management Plan. It was clearly reiterated that the Buddha statues should not be reconstructed. In order to prevent the collapse of the cliffs and niches, a large scaffolding, given free of charge by the German Messerschmidt Foundation, was

transported by the German Army to Afghanistan in August 2003. In summer 2004, the Government of Germany financed, through ICOMOS, the installation of a shelter for the conservation of the fragments of the Buddha statues.

Four Expert Working Groups on Bamiyan were organized by UNESCO from 2002 to 2006, to review the work carried out, to set priorities, to secure funding and to coordinate activities.

It is also worth mentioning that in the treatment of the fragments of the statues and the caves, organic materials were found for the first time, which allowed Carbon14 dating to ascertain the age of the two Buddha statues, as well as of the mural paintings. The Small Buddha was shown to date from 550 AD, the Large Buddha 50 years later, and the mural paintings were dated between the late 4th and early 9th century AD.

Figure 2. Bamiyan, Results of consolidation of Small Buddha Niche. © Sorosh/UNESCO

At present, in 2007, all fragments of the Giant Buddha statues, including decorations, were salvaged from the two niches, sorted, documented and stored in temporary shelters. The UNESCO-Japan Funds-in-Trust project successfully completed the emergency consolidation of the two niches and the adjacent cliffs. The project also continued to document the numerous Buddhist caves and conserve the mural paintings inside prioritized caves. A monitoring system to measure the impact of climatic conditions was installed in those caves to identify the best measures to protect the paintings.

The Management Plan for the entire site was completed in December 2006 with the assistance of UNESCO and the University of Aachen in Germany. The Governor of Bamiyan officially established a Bamiyan Cultural Landscape Coordination Committee (BCLCC) in 2006 as an inter-sectoral advisory council that would serve as the main body to implement the protective zoning plan (Cultural Master Plan), approved by the Ministry of Urban Planning in March 2006. Looting, illicit traffic and illegal excavations of cultural heritage assets are being addressed within the efforts to establish the site-management and monitoring system.

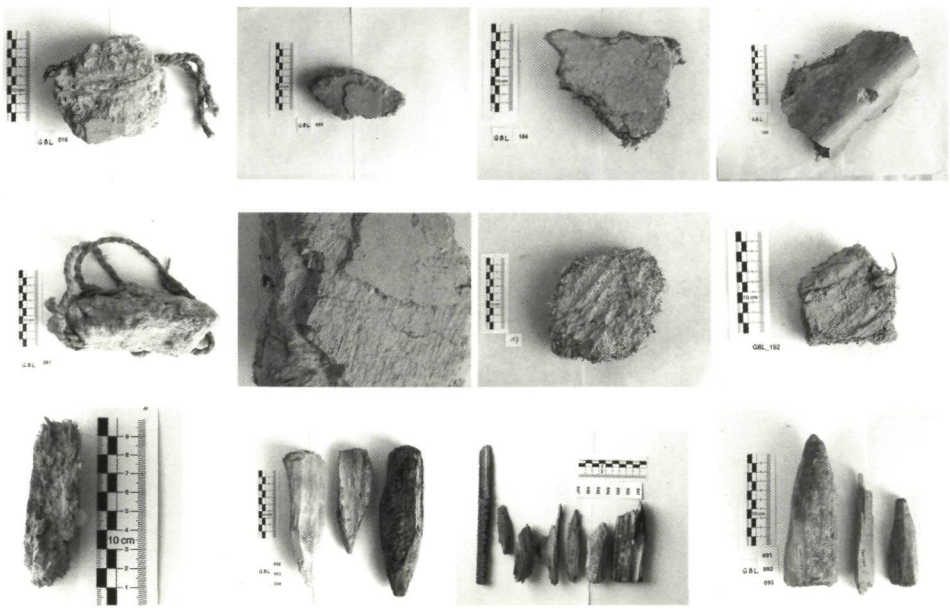

Figure 3. Bamiyan, original organic materials found in the debris.
© Praxenthaler/ICOMOS

Socio-Economic Impact of Heritage Conservation

UNESCO missions to safeguard cultural assets try to source material and labour locally in order to reduce project costs. However, these funding considerations also have a significant socio-economic impact on the local community in the short, medium and long term. Local workers and guards are directly paid from project funds, frequently being in certain regions the only members of their families who receive a regular income. Wages for the local workers thus contribute directly to the livelihood of the local community, being a significant source of revenue for the local economy in the short term. Expenses of UNESCO project staff for accommodation and food additionally supplement the income of local businesses.

In 2003, two experts from the Catholic University of Leuven (Belgium) carried out detailed metric documentation of the five minarets of the Gawhar Shad Musalla in Herat, as well as of the Jam Minaret. They combined this documentation with a preliminary training session on the use of a Total Station for Afghan experts. The Total Station was donated by UNESCO to the Afghan Ministry of Information and Culture.

In 1994, UNESCO and the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH) created the tile-making workshop in Herat, which still exists today, more than 13 years after its establishment. At the beginning it was financed by funds from Italy, then UNESCO, later Germany, and now the project is self-sustaining. At its peak from 2003 and 2004, the workshop was attended by 60 Afghan trainees learning the production of traditional tiles which are used for the conservation of the monuments. Old tile masters have been brought back to Herat to teach. The students, aged between 15 and 22 years of age are paid and often feed a large family from their salary.

In the medium term, reconstruction work in post-conflict regions increases the demand for traditional cultural goods that are better suited to the local climatic conditions and to the needs of the local population. This increase in demand provides the local craftsmen with a future perspective to continue their craft. However, even though limited in their scope regarding funds and project duration, such conservation projects have significant long-term effects on other local businesses and even national industries. The reconstruction and rehabilitation of cultural heritage sites creates *per se* added value for cultural tourism. Restored monuments attract visitors while destroyed ones do not. This, however, hinges

on functioning transportation systems, tourist infrastructure and a satisfactory security situation. Heritage conservation can bring together conflict groups and restart a constructive dialogue between the parties involved, thus contributing to the stabilization of a region after conflict.

Reintegration of Conflict Groups

In 1999 and 2000, during the fighting in Afghanistan, UNESCO was able to install gabions for the protection of the foundations of the Minaret of Jam. With the valuable assistance of Professor Andrea Bruno and the two NGOs SPACH and HAFO (Help to Afghan Farmer's Organization), a week-long ceasefire was negotiated, and warring combatants from the Mujahedeen and the Taliban factions were hired to install wooden and metal gabions around the minaret's foundations. They stopped fighting to work together on this project and took up fighting again after one week. This shows that warring groups may under certain conditions even work together for the protection of cultural heritage. Since the protection of cultural heritage is mostly considered to be unpolitical, joint protective efforts are frequently able to bring warring groups together, letting them set aside their political differences at least temporarily. These joint efforts can thus serve as a starting point for reconciliation and peace initiatives.

Figure 4. Herat, tiles workshop created by UNESCO. © Sorosh/UNESCO

Although the gabions were damaged during the dramatic high floods of April 2002, they remained efficient in protecting the monument, which has survived perhaps only as a result of this measure.

The Minaret of Jam was inscribed as the first Afghan property on the World Heritage List in June 2002. In the same year, UNESCO sent the two consultants from Belgium to Jam and Herat, to assess the state of conservation of the Minaret of Jam, as well as the Fifth Minaret, the Gawhar Shad, the Citadel, the Friday Mosque and to draft project documents for their conservation. Two months later, Professor Bruno accompanied by a hydrologist, carried out a mission to advise on the consolidation of the Jam Minaret's foundations, the stabilization of its overall structure and the water flow of the two rivers. They also recommended protective measures for the archaeological zone of Jam, threatened by illicit excavations.

An Expert Working Group on the Preservation of Jam and the Monuments in Herat was held at UNESCO Headquarters in 2003. Among the twenty-three participants were Dr Sayed Makdoom Raheen, the former Afghan Minister of Information and Culture. The experts evaluated the state of conservation of the sites, addressed the problem of illicit excavations and made emergency and long-term conservation and coordination proposals with identified priorities. This Working Group resulted in concrete recommendations, which allowed the commencement of emergency activities in 2003. The Swiss authorities approved a UNESCO Funds-in-Trust project for emergency consolidation and restoration of the site of Jam, with a total budget of US$138,000 and the Italian authorities granted US$800,000 for emergency consolidation and restoration of monuments in Herat and Jam.

The first activities under these projects began in April 2003 with the construction of a project house in Jam, the clearing of the Jam riverbed, as well as the repairing and strengthening of the gabions. Between 2005 and 2007, the lower part of the Minaret of Jam was restored. In August 2003, a geological soil investigation was initiated at the minarets for the definition of their long-term consolidation. At the same time, the fifth Minaret in Herat, which was in imminent risk of collapse, was subject to a temporary emergency stabilization by means of steel cables, designed by Professor Giorgio Macchi. This intervention has been successfully carried out by the Italian firm ALGA, under very difficult security and logistical conditions. This Minaret is now secured and stabilized, even though it would probably not resist to serious earthquakes. However, the long-term

consolidation of the fifth minaret of Herat has still to be undertaken when funds are available from donors.

Despite the involvement of international specialists and organizations, all these safeguarding measures are implemented in close collaboration with the local communities that are at the same time directly involved in activities on site. Local participation in safeguarding activities frequently becomes a significant factor in the local economy, thus contributing to the overall economic regeneration and political stabilization of a region.

Figure 5. Jam Minaret. © Margottini

Rebuilding the Cultural Identity of a People

The inscription of a site on the UNESCO World Heritage List is perhaps internationally the most visible form of acknowledgment of the cultural identity of a people. However, such measures in the international arena have to be supplemented by activities in the country that serve the ultimate aim of reconstructing the cultural identity of the people.

The cultural identity of a people is frequently targeted in revolutionary wars or in armed conflicts between ethnic groups to establish a new social, political or religious order. Such conflicts frequently give rise to deliberate destruction of

Figure 6. Basis of Jam Minaret with gabions. © Langlois/UNESCO

cultural heritage and to looting of museums and illicit excavations of archaeological sites, thus directly affecting the cultural integrity and identity of a people. Given that the prevention of illicit excavations and illicit traffic is a major challenge in many countries, UNESCO supports the efforts of local and national governments to ban illicit excavations and to control borders to prevent smuggling of illicitly acquired movable cultural objects. By trying to ensure the repatriation of illegally acquired objects, UNESCO seeks to support the rebuilding of a people's cultural identity.

Entrusted by the Afghan Government to coordinate all international efforts aiming to safeguard Afghanistan's cultural heritage, the Organization coordinates and carries out various activities in this country. In May 2002, UNESCO organized the first International Seminar on the Rehabilitation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage, held in Kabul, which gathered 107 specialists in Afghan culture, as well as representatives of donor countries and institutions. Under the chairmanship of the Afghan Minister of Information and Culture, the participants gave presentations on the state of conservation of cultural sites across the country and discussed co-ordination for the first conservation measures to be taken. This Seminar resulted in more than US$7 million being pledged for priority projects, allocated through bilateral agreements and UNESCO Funds-in-Trust

projects. It is worth noting that even more funds than those pledged were finally received, which shows how important it is to associate the donors directly with the planning, recommendation, project design and decision making. An eleven-page document containing concrete recommendations for concrete action was adopted and implemented during the following years.

To this end, UNESCO established the International Coordination Committee. The statutes of this Committee were approved by the 165th session of the Organization's Executive Board in October 2002, which ensures the support of all 192 UNESCO Member States. The Committee consists of Afghan experts and leading international specialists belonging to the most important donor countries and organizations. This Committee issues concrete recommendations, which allow efficient coordination of actions to safeguard Afghanistan's cultural heritage. The key areas are the development of a long-term strategy, capacity building, the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, national inventories and documentation. Most of these recommendations are being implemented, in particular at the sites of Jam, Herat, Bamiyan, as well as the National Museum in Kabul. Funding and assistance was provided by the Governments of Japan, Italy, Switzerland, the United States of America, Greece and Germany, as well as by organizations such as ICOMOS, the German Archaeological Institute, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, the French Musée Guimet, the British Museum, and UNESCO.

Conclusion

The previously described elements of UNESCO's post-conflict strategy may help to restore symbolic assets as well as the social and economic foundations of peaceful coexistence. Even though UNESCO's post-conflict management strategies have achieved remarkable successes under frequently precarious conditions, armed conflicts and civil unrest continue to threaten the world's cultural and natural heritage. UNESCO's post-conflict management strategies, though tried and tested, cannot prevent conflicts from flaring up again, particularly in light of frequent multinational involvement and some conflicts' highly politicized nature. Post-conflict management invariably operates in a wider framework, which cannot

be entirely controlled by heritage managers. Thus, many challenges remain. Complementing UNESCO's operational activities, the Organization is promoting existing and developing new normative instruments for the legal protection of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. However, these normative instruments have to be supported by adequate management strategies on site, calling on heritage managers to consider the wider implications and impact of their work.

INTERDISCIPLINARY AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON PRESERVATION OF THE WORLD'S CULTURAL HERITAGE

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AS a graduate student in Mexico some years ago, I saw first hand the devastating effects of site looting in the Maya area and the inexorable draw of the international art market. The stories I heard and the irreparable damage I saw emboldened me to want to be a change agent. I sought to be a catalyst to stimulate discussion about the ethics of collecting cultural property among the many stakeholders through panel discussions, conferences, and publications (see Messenger 1993, 1999, Lynott and Wylie 2000).

Educating the public about the importance of preserving archaeological sites as part of our cultural heritage emerged as a major recommendation of the 1989 *Save the Past for the Future* conference at Fort Burgwin, New Mexico (co-sponsored by numerous U.S. Department of the Interior agencies and professional societies), which led to the founding of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) Public Education Committee (SAA 1992) and many initiatives in public education (see SAA 2004, Messenger 2000, Messenger and Friedman 1996, Little 2002). Subsequent SAA working conferences in Breckenridge, Colorado (1992), and Wakulla Springs, Florida (1995) helped bring renewed emphasis on making undergraduate education and professional development relevant to 21st-century issues of stewardship and heritage management (see Smith and Bender 2000, Messenger et al. 2000, Pyburn: 2003).

Recognizing the power of bringing a diverse group of people together to share stories and insights, and apply their combined expertise to a set of issues and problems, my colleague George Smith, of the Southeast Archeological Center of the National Park Service, and I began in 2004 to develop a plan to assemble a working group of experts in archaeology, international law, cultural anthropology, tourism, public policy, and heritage management to discuss preservation of the world's cultural heritage. We quickly had a group of several dozen experts from four continents on our list of interested participants, and in our idealism, we began

seeking funding using the theme of "heritage and world peace". We soon found that most funders were not prepared to support a project that seemed to straddle standard disciplinary boundaries and areas of focus or, perhaps, was ahead of its time. We persisted, though we scaled back the proposed working group to a more modest size and scope.

"Preserving the World's Cultural Heritage" Working Conference

With a grant from the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training (NCPTT) in Nachitoches, Louisiana, and with in-kind contributions from the National Park Service (NPS), Hamline University, and other supporters, we convened the first working conference on *Preserving the World's Cultural Heritage* in November 2005 at Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia. This collaborative effort was based on the recognition that bringing together a geographically diverse group of professionals in archaeology and other heritage fields for in-depth discussion and sharing of stories can fuel creativity and problem-solving. This gathering included 16 archaeologists, lawyers, educators, and other heritage professionals to address issues of public policy and heritage resource management.

Participants in the first Cumberland Island conference had a multi-faceted assignment. They were to examine what policies and practices currently exist to manage and protect global cultural heritage and how well they affect or stimulate increased preservation in practice. They were to identify gaps or improvements needed in resource management and policy and generate recommendations for steps or interventions that could enhance cultural resource management and policy on the local, national, and international scale. Participants worked in two subgroups, one on policy issues and the other on resource management.

My own underlying questions about change agents in the cultural heritage arena included: How do practitioners in the heritage sector describe cultural heritage issues and solutions? What do they identify as current needs, opportunities and barriers related to preserving world heritage?

Working Group on Policy Issues

The policy working group identified their task as "identifying how to influence policy – global, regional, national, and local – to support cultural heritage preservation in context". They identified current conditions related to resource protection. For example, there are national cultural heritage policies in many countries, and existing multinational agreements about world heritage sites and protection of the past. Yet destruction continues at an alarming rate worldwide. Sometimes policies are set at the national or international level, with little understanding or capacity at the local level regarding implementation.

The group identified three policy categories and key impediments to effective implementation (see Jansen et al. 2007):

1. *Conceptual or definitional policies* circumscribe the concept of cultural heritage for an organization or government agency and may establish or explain the basic heritage management principles to be followed. These policies may state an organizational intent and a standard to be followed, but all too often such policies are absent in organizations, agencies and companies that are in a position to impact heritage resources.

2. *Implementation policies* describe how a definitional policy is to be put into daily practice. They are usually quite specific to the standard work practices of an agency or organization. For example, in a development bank that finances large construction projects, there may be a policy to fund heritage management, but no funding mechanism to implement a required pre-project impact assessment.

3. *Other policies affect resource allocation.* Often these policies function independently of policies that define what should be done or that explain how initiatives should be implemented. Policies affecting the budget cycle or staffing patterns of an organization may not support the achievement of larger cultural heritage goals.

Another impediment to effective cultural heritage policy development and implementation is the absence of the voice of the cultural heritage specialist, including archaeologists, at the policy-making table.

Some of the proposed action items from the Cumberland Island policy work group include the following:

Strengthen advocacy by learning from successful global models in other sectors. An obvious example is the environmental movement, which has led to such far-reaching efforts as hotel chains asking patrons to save the planet through re-use of sheets and towels and other water-conserving measures.

Enhance public outreach by partnering with communication professionals. The idea of collaborating with advertising groups for a media campaign is not new, but successful implementation on a regional or global scale would require partnering with a body such as the International Advertising Association to convey the message worldwide that heritage is being lost, and that there are preservation options that can make a difference.

Synthesize and disseminate the experience of heritage management in crises by identifying those with relevant experience and developing best practices for cultural heritage preservation in crisis situations. There is the need for policies to identify or inventory the cultural resources known to be present in a crisis area and to develop steps for protection. Using the model of Doctors without Borders, a network of "archaeologists without borders" would stand ready to be called upon in time of crisis. In 2006, a new body, the Association of National Committees of the Blue Shield was launched to support the International Committee of the Blue Shield (ICBS) for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (ICBS 2006).

Address a fundamental gap for policy development: create a new advocacy tool – an index *of cultural heritage losses.* Such indices attract the attention of decision-makers, funding agencies, and the press. For example, since 1993 the UN Human Development Index (HDI) has measured human development and well-being worldwide by aggregating life expectancy at birth, adult literacy, and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita. Another tool is the World Conservation Union's Red List of Threatened Species, which since 1994 has provided a more objective system for classifying species at high risk of extinction worldwide.

Creating a similar tool for heritage – a global Cultural Heritage Index (CHI) – would provide a policy-relevant analytical tool that could use data to

capture the essence of the problem of heritage resource loss and the progress that preservation efforts can achieve. The tool would quantify the magnitude of the threat to heritage resources and the magnitude of loss. It would be a useful tool for economists, policy makers, development agencies, and many others.

Working Group on Resource Management

The "Protecting World Heritage" resource management work group discussed issues that specifically affect heritage resource management. They developed a set of action items for further discussion with stakeholders. Some key issues include: identifying factors that discourage public participation in heritage decision making, measuring the value of heritage to the public, communicating with and educating stakeholders, and providing the tools and training needed for heritage professionals in a changing global context (Smith 2006).

Some action items identified for further development include:

- *Create a "best practices" publication series.* This could include booklets, pamphlets, brochures, or books dealing with stakeholders and partnerships, ethics, financing, education, communication, management plans, and Interpretation. Such publications would discuss Best Practice in these areas and also include case studies and an extensive bibliography. Consideration must be given to translations into other languages (see Messenger and Smith, forthcoming).
- *Develop a web site and listserve.* A web site is needed to make information from this and subsequent workshops and conferences available on an international level and to solicit and exchange information relating to workshop themes with appropriate links. The National Center for Preservation Training and Technology (NCPTT: 2007) is being considered as a site for this information.
- *Ongoing dialogue through international workshops and conferences:* In an effort to continue this interdisciplinary discussion and promote the exchange of information, experiences, and ideas about heritage resource management and policy in an international forum, it is necessary to continue the discussion in various international venues. This could include sessions at international meetings, conferences

and workshops, especially in areas where educational and/or legal infrastructure may not exist with respect to heritage resource management and policy. As part of this effort, a session was given at the World Archaeological Congress, Intercongress Meetings in Osaka, Japan, in January 2006. George Smith participated in the conference on Capturing the Public Value of Heritage held at the Royal Geographical Society in London and prepared a review of the conference for the journal of *World Archaeology*. He presented a paper on Teaching Archaeology in the 21st Century at the Teaching and Learning in Archaeology conference in Liverpool, England in June 2006 and two workshop participants have been appointed to the Editorial Board of the new internet journal *Research in Archaeological Education*. Smith and Messenger organized a session at the 2006 SAA meetings and are looking at various international venues, including a session at the 2008 World Archaeological Congress in Dublin.

- *Support international collaboration on curriculum development.* A starting point would be to expand courses developed as part of the undergraduate archaeology curriculum project, Making Archaeology Relevant in the XXI Century (MATRIX: see Pyburn 2003) and make them available in other languages.

What the Cultural Heritage Practitioners Are Saying

As discussion of the "Preserving World Heritage" working conference expanded to include other authors and practitioners from around the world, we engaged in an interesting discussion about basic terminology – for example, we variously spoke about "cultural resource management", "heritage resource management", and "cultural heritage management." We decided that the title of the resulting book (see Messenger and Smith: forthcoming 2009) would use "cultural heritage management" based on compelling points made by Heather Burke and Claire Smith, authors of a chapter on Australian heritage management (forthcoming 2009). Their first point was that "heritage" implies conservation, whereas "resource" implies use or even exploitation. The second point is that "cultural heritage" is more than just a change in terms; it denotes a shift in attitude about the purposes of management and the outcomes of managing a system largely

composed of someone else's heritage, as we have in the US and Australia. It is this shift in attitude that we think is an important part of the book. At the same time, the authors, representing over 20 countries, addressed the national and historical context of their countries as they affect heritage management, as well as overarching issues ranging from development policies and technology to descendent communities and economic justice.

Here is a sampling of what practitioners on the ground are saying about cultural heritage management and protection in their specific contexts.

The development of management and protection practices has a long history in some countries, while it is very recent in others. India, for example, has a long rich history of heritage laws beginning in the early 1800s (Ota: forthcoming 2009). The history of Cultural Resource Management in Brazil, on the other hand, is much shorter, dating from the 1970s (DeBlasis forthcoming 2009). In some countries, heritage management is closely tied to political history or land ownership practices. In the U.S., for example, private ownership of land and individual rights generally trump all else (Davis: forthcoming 2009).

Twentieth century political upheavals and regime changes have greatly impacted policies. Chapters on Russia (Petrov forthcoming 2009) and Poland (Kobylinski forthcoming 2009) reflect similar experiences as those discussed at the 3rd Annual Ename International Colloquium in reference to Cracow.[1] In Mexico, a fierce nationalism created a strong national archaeology program, but some would say that it also tends to place blinders on established institutions such as INAH, impeding its ability to change with the times (Robles Garcia and Corbett forthcoming 2009). And, of course, the formation of regional alliances, such as the European Union, has an impact on heritage policies and practices (see Willems forthcoming 2009).

National laws sometimes have unintended consequences. For example, the creation of the field of cultural resource management in the U.S. was a response to new historic preservation laws in the 1960s and 70s and caused a split among practitioners of archaeology, between the academic PhDs and the applied MAs (Davis forthcoming 2009).

Infrastructure development and economic growth can outpace preservation policies and practices. In China, for example, development of the infamous Three Gorges Dam, and now the inexorable march of the North-South Water Project threatens to destroy both known and unknown heritage sites faster than mandated

practices can study or protect them (Shen and Chen forthcoming 2009). On the other hand, recession can turn the heritage sector upside down. Consider Japan, with a long history of heritage preservation. The burst of the economic bubble caused upheaval in the well-developed Archaeological Heritage Management infrastructure (Okamura and Matsuda forthcoming 2009).

Preservation philosophies are influenced by religious beliefs, as well as politics. In Thailand, the country's Buddhist practices are carried out seamlessly at ancient sites where Buddha images are re-dressed, renewed, and rebuilt as needed (Lertcharnrit forthcoming 2009).

Conclusion and Next Steps

These action items and discussion questions identified by the Cumberland Island group are being circulated and further developed in several ways, as discussed above. We hope that the conference papers, round table discussions and the forthcoming book will contribute to the global discussion among heritage resource professionals and students as well as countries and agencies that may be creating or revising laws, regulations, policies, and guidelines to manage, study, interpret, and protect the past.

While many of these grossly oversimplified statements of issues and descriptions of practices may seem like common knowledge to those who participated in the 3rd Annual Ename International Colloquium on the Future of Heritage, I would argue that representatives from one region may have little knowledge of the history or working context in another. And too often these parameters are the stumbling blocks to clear national policies and international collaboration, as well as local and regional implementation and enforcement of heritage laws and policies. We hope that this ongoing dialogue will contribute to strengthening of the cultural heritage sector and to more effective policies and practices for the preservation of world heritage.

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HISTORY, HERITAGE AND REGENERATION OF THE RECENT PAST: THE BRITISH CONTEXT

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IN Britain today, as elsewhere, there is a growing recognition that efforts to enhance the attractiveness and viability of heritage places must be linked to the values, interests and capacities of the people who live and work within or around them. This must be done in ways that further the distinctiveness of such locations and recognise the power of their historical legacies while stimulating their adaptation to, and anticipation of, new times and new markets. This "power of place" concept is not new, having earlier found its outlet in the work of social geographers and anthropologists and more practically of organisations like Common Ground, applying the concepts of local distinctiveness and shared values to bring people together and strengthen communities through marking and celebrating shared pasts.[1]

The work of the New Economics Foundation, with its exposure of the emergence of "clone towns" and the leaching out of urban individuality in contemporary Britain, has become an important strand here.[2] These concepts are increasingly being afforded academic weight and political endorsement, although contesting the continuing drive toward globalisation through commercially driven uniformity is still an uphill struggle. The UK government's reliance on evidence-based policies has spawned a whole new area of heritage research, seeking to develop vocabulary, data and indicators with which to describe and measure the benefits that society derives from inherited cultures, practices, buildings and artefacts, and from the demand they create for unique or distinctive experiences.[3] Prompted by this agenda, relationships between history and identity can be promoted as positive and creative, and heritage can be viewed as a multi-dimensional social, economic and environmental, as well as cultural asset. These

Figure 1. The Sands development at Scarborough's North Bay.

perceptions remain far from universal, as urban "regeneration" is still capable of replacing low-key but much-loved emblems of the "spirit of place" with the standard currency of the developer's drawing-board, showing no interest in what has gone before or the nature of the setting. But how far does this debate extend to include the heritage of the recent past?

This was the subject of a January 2007 colloquium hosted by the University of Leicester. This initiative marked the beginning of a new cross-disciplinary research cluster, funded jointly by the British academic research councils, exploring the value and significance of the historic environment. The aim is to explore the ways in which different academic disciplines and the urban regeneration sector as a whole understand the concept of recent "heritage," the practical implications of particular constructions of value for policies and programmes for the management of heritage places, and the consequences for communities and individuals.[4] What came across strongly in the discussion were the diverse range of values associated with the recent past and the complex nature of their interaction with contemporary issues. The concept of the "recent past" is of course open to debate, but the dominant interpretation seems to involve those pasts that can be accessed by living memory, which means that the frontier between "recent" and earlier pasts is always moving with the passage of time. This recent

Figure 2. The Sands development at Scarborough's North Bay.

past is a congested and contradictory environment; it is a "lived in" and enlivened heritage with multiple stakeholders and multiple voices. It has yet to acquire the legitimacy of age and the consensus about its lasting value that are synonymous with more established and officially endorsed embodiments of "heritage".

It can be curious, strange and untidy, often non-material or intangible, linked to collective memories and entwined with the ambivalences of nostalgia. It is therefore sometimes invisible, and almost always unofficial, outside the dominant definitions of heritage and disowned by the usual categories and criteria for protection. As a consequence the recent past is also a contested environment, increasingly under threat from sanitising management regimes, more and more a focus for class politics and associated "culture wars" and media inflections, and a growing area of popular concern.

Threats to the heritage of the recent past in Britain come from three main sources. There is an enduring cultural snobbery that favours "high" art and culture, grand designs, planning (even when it is planning for studied informality) and elite associations (especially in architecture), and which resists any acknowledgement of the worth of the spontaneous, the organic, the unofficial, the informal, and the popular in the creation and use of valued environments – what the writer and broadcaster Jonathan Meades has termed "placeism".[5] The work of James Lees-Milne at the National Trust as it developed its historic houses programme, and the ways in which he wrote about it, provides a distillation of these dominant values.[6] Running parallel to this is a set of bureaucratic values associated with planning and the imposition of standardised systems through local and national government, which prioritises uniformity and defines minimum standards, and imposes a grid of entitlements to spaces and services that kills diversity in the name of distantly mediated and decidedly unrepresentative "democracy". Thirdly,

there is the tendency to worship the "modern" and the "contemporary" in whatever form developers, working within the planning system and often in conjunction with local authorities, regard as commercial and architectural "best practice" at a given moment. This is liable to sweep aside the heritage (formal or informal) of the recent past (and indeed earlier pasts) in pursuit of a standard orthodoxy that denies place identity and represents what sociologist George Ritzer (2003) has called "the globalisation of nothing" (Fig. 1 and 2).

In trying to explain these pressures, we need to understand why the recent past, and perhaps especially "popular" and "informal" aspects of that past, have remained for so long below the radar of "mainstream" academics and policy makers. This, we believe, reflects a hierarchy of professional values that has regarded "popular culture" as frivolous, trivial and beneath the notice of serious scholarship, which rubbed off on, and was reinforced by, the assumed priorities of the academic Research Assessment Exercise at British universities (at least in older-established disciplines), and of heritage organisations in government and the voluntary sector, leading to a lack of coherent policy, organisation, and documentation in these and related areas. The media have reinforced existing prejudices by denying the legitimacy of serious research on "trivial" subjects and trivialising them in turn when commenting on developments.

Conserving the Heritage of the Recent Past

We propose to explore these forces at work by examining British sports venues and seaside resorts of the late 19th and 20th centuries, and especially the controversies over the proposal for a World Heritage Site bid for Blackpool, the world's first working-class seaside resort. As an archaeologist and heritage consultant, Jason Wood first approached these themes from a conservation management perspective with an emphasis on historic "sportscapes" – the history and cultural geography of sports buildings and places. Latterly, he has developed an interest in the rapidly developing fields of public history and public understanding of the past, and is especially interested in promoting programmes that offer a more inclusive reach in terms of community participation. Of especial interest here is revealing how sports venues and landscapes are valued as emblematic of aspiration and achievement, and understanding the intense sense of identity and of place that they convey in popular culture.

Exploring people's emotional and subjective attachment to these cherished locations, and the different ways in which this attachment is expressed, constitute the most pertinent and most challenging components of this research.[7] As a professor of social history with a long-established international interest in the history of seaside resorts and tourism, John Walton's interest in heritage grew out of engagement in debates about the roots of current problems in British seaside resorts, the present situation and the possible ways forward, with special reference to the use of history and heritage in promoting and inspiring seaside regeneration. He has also developed an interest in industrial museums and in the uses of "local heroes" for heritage tourism purposes, with research projects on the North of England Open Air Museum at Beamish and the development of a heritage trail themed around the explorer Captain James Cook in North Yorkshire.[8] We are both currently acting as consultants on the campaign to achieve World Heritage Site status for Blackpool.

The development of sport and seaside holidays (indeed that of tourism more generally) opens out strong and distinctive themes in modern British history. Sport, in particular – especially Association football – has developed a lively historiography in recent years, but for the most part this has failed to make an impact on the concerns of a very conservative "mainstream" of the historical profession through syllabi and overall interpretations of the course of British history.[9] This is regrettable and distorting, because sport and the seaside holiday constitute two of the most successful and influential British cultural exports on the global stage, which should be part and parcel of the standard narratives of industry, empire and the first globalisation, but have actually been devalued, trivialised and, where not ignored altogether, left on the margins. This applies emphatically to their heritage as well as to their history.

Britain's sporting and seaside heritage is a finite and irreplaceable resource, but despite its distinctiveness and authenticity decades of under-appreciation and lack of protection have taken their toll, resulting in loss of or damage to some famous and popular landmarks. But it seems we are still not learning the lessons from the past or responding adequately to the changing perceptions of such heritage. Controversial closure and disposal of historic sports and seaside buildings and places by public and private bodies continues today – to raise revenue, reduce expenditure pursue specific and transitory visions of current "best practice" as promoted by developers, or comply with health and safety standards

– and with too little regard for their heritage value. This has led to increased planning casework, political interest or interference and media representation (often misrepresentation), but also to a growing number of public protests and demonstrations. It is arguable that the heritage sector has responded inadequately, belatedly and inconsistently.

Until recently the words "sport" or "seaside" were rarely associated with the word "heritage", but this is slowly beginning to change with widening recognition of the economic and cultural importance of sport and the seaside in British society and beyond. The history and heritage of sports venues and seaside resorts is now attracting attention for the positive contribution they can make towards regeneration and quality of life. To capitalise on this, we need to give proper recognition to historic sports and seaside places (not just individual buildings) and raise the benchmark for heritage management of these distinctive unique environments by finding new ways to protect and enhance them and by mobilising people's affection for their rediscovery, nostalgia and authenticity. In this respect proper mapping and characterisation will be essential to ensure that their value and significance permeates through to generate effective policies so that spatial planning, development and tourism decisions are based on informed knowledge, understanding and respect for what has gone before and people's interest in and attachment to it. When considering redevelopment we also need to encourage more imaginative thinking in trying to make the best and most enjoyable use of existing assets alongside doing innovative or state-of-the-art things.

History and heritage should be seen as assets, not as brakes on future development; nor should regeneration be perceived or pursued as a slap in the face for historic places. History and heritage offer new and exciting ways of promoting and inspiring regeneration at British sports venues and seaside resorts. They are key drivers to be woven into the tapestry of development, contributing to the place-shaping agenda and combining renewal and innovation with an appeal to tradition and identity. Without history and heritage the relationship between place and identity is severed. We cannot unwind the past but we can use it to shape the future. Having said this we have to be realistic. We should not expect to preserve everything. Some buildings and places will have to be let go. The question then becomes one of how to make informed and appropriate choices of what to retain and how to adapt; how best to memorialise those valued things we have lost or will lose; how to mark and celebrate the tangible and intangible heritage of the

recent past. In short, achieving a balanced approach to the wide range of values and benefits that flow from such assets requires more than understanding and respecting special historical, architectural and landscape significance. It must also include celebration of customs, traditions, routines and practices that people associate with such places, recognising their importance as repositories for and conduits of public memory, and actively promoting forward-looking strategies that are sensitive to the richness of sports and seaside history and its personalities.

Blackpool as World Heritage?

We turn now to discuss the Lancashire seaside resort of Blackpool, on the Irish Sea coast of north-west England, and its bid to become a World Heritage Site. In previous papers, we have demonstrated that Blackpool has no credible challenger for the title of world's first working-class seaside resort.[10] The town pioneered popular tourism in the nineteenth century, and today constitutes a unique cultural landscape – a living, evolving expression of the archaeology of the popular seaside holiday and entertainment industry – which retains a core identity and ambience and an impressive array of surviving architectures and built environments dedicated to the provision of leisure and enjoyment.

Initial reaction to the proposed bid when first announced by Blackpool Council in March 2006 was largely positive if a little muted. Charles Nevin, author of the frivolous but thought-provoking *Lancashire, Where Women Die of Love*, writing in *The Independent, noted*: "Why shouldn't the world's finest example of the potency of popular culture be celebrated? Outstanding ancient, royal, religious, natural and industrial achievements have been recognised, so why not more than a century and a half of providing roaring, rollicking fun?" (Nevin 2006). Other commentators recalled and echoed Bill Clinton's endorsement following a visit to the resort: "I like Blackpool. The weather's great and the town's kinda ... sleazy isn't it?" Even the *Daily Star* proclaimed Blackpool as the "Eighth Wonder of the World" (Mahoney 2006). More predictable was a *Daily Mail* poll: 21% thought yes, Blackpool should become a World Heritage Site; 79% said no, it's too tacky. The loaded manner of presenting the question presaged what was to come later in the year, as did the assumption that avoidance of "tackiness" was an essential pre-requisite for World Heritage Site status.

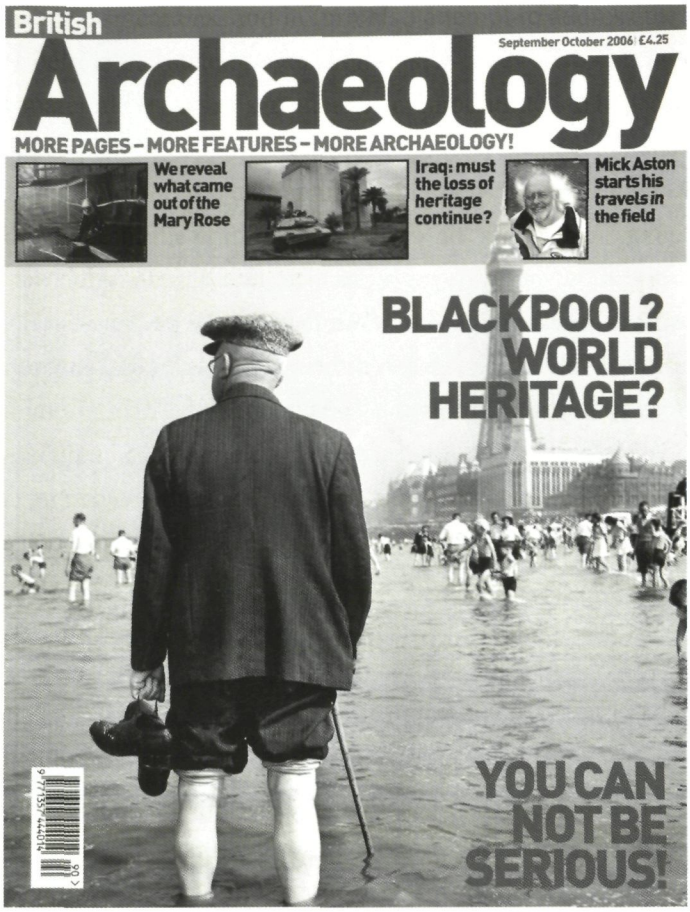

Figure 3. Front cover of the British Archaeology magazine featuring our article on Blackpool's ambition for World Heritage Site status.

Further television, radio and newspaper coverage in August 2006 followed publication of our cover feature article in *British Archaeology* magazine (Figure 3). Much of the reporting was stereotypical and tongue-in-cheek, as we had come to expect, though this time the *Daily Mail* was more positive (Wheldon 2006). The "You and Yours" BBC Radio 4 programme even commissioned a poem by Ian McMillan called "Heritage Me Quick!"[11] What came as more of a surprise was the widespread condescension towards, even outright hostility to, the Blackpool proposal from other parts of the media, especially the BBC website, which posed the question "Should Blackpool become a World Heritage site? Or should the honour go to your local town or city?" In what was deemed to be "the funniest Have Your Say in ages" bloggers did not hold back with their views with over 200

comments registered, the vast majority being against.[12] This was not surprising, as several attempts to post positive comments from domestic email addresses were rejected by the webmaster, who clearly had an agenda. Nor was any attempt made to explain how a World Heritage Site might be defined, that the "obvious" sites like the Great Wall of China and the Taj Mahal were not the only potential comparators, that the Great Wall of China itself included long ugly, half-hidden and down-at-heel sections, and that several decidedly grimy and unromantic sites associated with the Industrial Revolution had already been inscribed.

Many respondents considered the idea a joke, referring to the town as "cheap and tacky", "dirty", "horrid", "sleazy and nasty", "a dump", "a cess-pit", "shabby and unpleasant" and "a miserable, grotty place" with "about as much appeal as waiting for a bus in a thunderstorm". Very few were prepared to look beyond "rusting piers" and "drunken stag and hen parties". "Anyone not from these shores visiting the place would question our national sanity that this question is even being discussed" thought Nige from Gloucestershire. "Blackpool, World Heritage Site? – about as much chance as Bush and Blair being nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize" added Mr Nye of Slough. Mr Long from Tonbridge in Kent was typical of many – "First "working-class resort"? What a pompous title. Liverpool and Blackpool are not in the same category as the Great Wall of China. World Heritage status is becoming seriously devalued". "Angry of Mayfair" and others also made unfavourable comparisons with the Great Wall, while Mike of London was prepared to concede there might be a case as "most of the accommodation in Blackpool is prehistoric". Mr Barker, from nearby Lytham, thought "the question should not be "Should Blackpool become a World Heritage Site?", but rather "Should Blackpool be demolished and started again?" "Blackpool is like a smelly old arthritic ridden dog that needs putting out of its misery" concluded RS, also from Lancashire. Alternatives proposed for World Heritage Site status included the Millennium Dome, the motorway intersection known as Spaghetti Junction, the 1960s Arndale Centre in the small Yorkshire town of Shipley (a classic example of characterless retail architecture from that decade), a wind turbine near Reading, and a concrete elephant by the A30 trunk road in Camberley "made out of bits of sewer pipe".

Finally, an extraordinarily aggressive and ignorant article by the "humorist" Giles Coren appeared in *The Times* (Coren 2006). His piece began "I'm not knocking Blackpool ...." before doing just that by suggesting spoof justifications

for a World Heritage Site nomination – "That the Pleasure Beach is longer than the Great Wall of China ... that Blackpool Tower is older than Stonehenge ... that the ballroom pre-dates the Pyramids at Giza ..." etc, etc. The piece ends in a flurry of inaccuracies and common misapprehensions – "The sad thing is that once a place is made a World Heritage Site it means that life there is, to all intents and purposes, over". No one with the slightest awareness of the continuing conflicts and debates brought on by World Heritage Site inscription in (for example) Vienna, or Puebla, or Macchu Picchu, or indeed Liverpool, could have made a comment of such confident, consummate absurdity. But Coren's piece is merely an extreme example of a deplorably widespread set of media assumptions in this area.

The Blackpool World Heritage Site bid and the controversy surrounding it serve to illustrate of the changing perceptions of, and conflicts around, the heritage of the recent past in the British setting. The purpose of this paper has been to stretch established categories and challenge received assumptions about the content and nature of "heritage", with particular reference to sports venues and seaside resorts. In seeking to open out debate in this context and further provoke the overlap between heritage studies and popular culture, key areas for further exploration will need to focus on such questions as spirit of place; loss and change; memory and meaning; authenticity and nostalgia; and regeneration and sustainability.

Endnotes

1 For this theme, see the historian and architect Dolores Hayden's account of the role that place plays in the production of history, heritage and memory in the American historic urban landscape (Hayden 1995). For the publications and projects of the charitable organisation Common Ground, see www.commonground.org.uk; (Consulted 1 October 2007).

2 <www.neweconomics.org/gen/clonetown.aspx>; (Consulted1 October 2007).

3 On the theme of communities and heritage and getting people involved with improving the local environment, see for example DCMS, 2002 and English Heritage, 2006.

4 The colloquium formed part of the University of Leicester Department of

Museum Studies' research cluster "Valuing Historic Environments: Concepts, Instrumentalisations and Effects." <www.le.ac.uk/ms/contactus/valhistenvir.html> (Consulted 1 October 2007).

5 The first programme, *Father to the Man*, of the BBC 2 TV series, *Jonathan Meades: Abroad Again*, broadcast 9 May 2007, explored how places can affect people's lives. <www.jonathanmeades.com>, (Consulted 1 October 2007).

6 James Lees-Milne became Country Houses Secretary of the National Trust in 1936. See for example, Lees-Milne, 1992 . <www.jamesleesmilne.com> (Consulted 1 October 2007).

7 See for example, the agenda-setting paper on realising the value of sports heritage based partly on the results of an English Heritage pilot study in Manchester in the run up to the 2002 Commonwealth Games (Wood, 2005a) and preliminary ideas for sports heritage tourism projects for Britain's forthcoming Cultural Olympiad (Wood, 2005b).

8 See most recently, research contrasting the experiences of Coney Island and Blackpool with those of Disneyland and Beamish (Cross and Walton, 2005).

9 But see for example, Russell, 1997.

10 For earlier discussion, see Walton and Wood 2006.

11 Broadcast 11 August 2006. <www.ian-mcmillan.co.uk>, (Consulted 1 October 2007).

12 <newsforums.bbc.co.uk/nol/thread.jspa?threadID=3181&&&edition=1&ttl=20070612201322>; (Consulted 1 October 2007).

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A PRESERVATION MANIFESTO FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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RECENTLY, I was in Caesarea, an ancient Roman port city whose archaeological remains are situated adjacent to a modern seaside resort south of Tel Aviv. The purpose of my visit was to observe the remains of two above-ground masonry-arched aqueducts as an extension of my fellowship research on the preservation of Roman hydraulic infrastructure at the American Academy in Rome. During an interview with a preservation colleague in Jerusalem on the following day, I mentioned that I was invited to speak at an upcoming Colloquium entitled "The Future of Heritage." He immediately asked rhetorically whether heritage, and by extension, the field of historic preservation, *has* a future.

Having performed design and regulatory review for the Landmarks Preservation Commission in New York City for the past eight years, I have certainly thought about the future of my professional vocation. My principal interface with real estate developers, architects, preservation consultants, land use lawyers, and lobbyists revolved around applying legislation, institutional regulatory history and policy, and proposed design guidelines as they pertained to development projects affecting historic properties under the Commission's jurisdictional purview. I wish to make this context clear as it from this vantage point that I have developed some of the ideas and goals which I expand upon in this paper.

I have intermittently discussed the issue of future trajectories with colleagues in the fields of historic preservation, land use law, architecture, engineering, planning, and archaeology. As a prelude to writing this paper, I invited their observations and suggestions in my quest to conceptualize a pragmatic, creative and interdisciplinary response to the challenge posed by this Colloquium "What is the future of heritage?" Historic preservation is not practiced in a vacuum, after all. Without aiming to achieve either a uniform consensus, or to present an expert opinion, much less to enumerate a comprehensive list of goals or objectives, I hope that this paper might contribute to ongoing dialogues and

highlight some specific challenges which the preservation community in America must proactively address.

Contexts Past and Future

Amidst a plethora of recent fortieth anniversaries, both within the United States and in the global community, including those of the 1964 Venice Charter, the founding of the International Council on Monuments and Sites and the World Monuments Fund, the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act and the New York Landmarks Law, the devastation wrought by the 1966 floods in Florence and Venice, and the demolition of McKim, Mead and White's Pennsylvania Station in New York, preservationists are reminded of both the failures and successes of the past, as well as future opportunities in preservation practice.

Decades after the pioneering efforts of Jane Jacobs, Ada Louise Huxtable, and James Marston Fitch, and the establishment of enabling legislation, preservation practitioners in the United States continue to seek a place at the planning board table in many communities. Annual lists of endangered heritage sites, whether threatened by demolition, natural disaster, or neglect, continue to be generated by local, state, national and international organizations. Preservationists continue to dispel outmoded attitudes regarding heritage resource management, advocate for the economic benefits of historic preservation in real estate development agendas, and agitate for wider tax credit applicability. As we contemplate the recent past of the historic preservation movement, let us envision a future for our field that will include the following themes:

Preservation Planning

Rather than tabulate an exhaustive list of preservation planning tools for historic urban centers, it is useful for the purposes of this paper to limit the focus to a few issues. Despite the danger of sprawl that threatens to transform America into one vast suburb, there is reason to hope for the future of historic towns and cities. As suburban sprawl increases, finite resource and space availability, an increasing public backlash against unchecked sprawl, and a stronger anti-sprawl lobby will eventually redirect real estate investment and development towards urban cores. Within this prospectively dynamic environment, promoting adaptive use of abandoned or underused historic buildings, and constructing infill on previously

empty lots will achieve greater municipal and regional priority. Part of this debate includes the "quality of life" argument and leads to one fundamental question that must be asked more often: how can preservation planning continue to work to enhance historic towns and cities by creating places to work and live that are both sustainable and desirable?

One subset of this theme includes the situation affecting an increasing number of religious buildings in cities throughout North America and Europe. As greater numbers of these aging houses of worship become de-sanctified, as religious communities and lay congregations continue to dwindle, as cyclical maintenance continues to be deferred, and as the physical structures are themselves consequently threatened with demolition, it will become increasingly important to continue to promote adaptive use of these buildings. In New York City, historic religious properties have variously been converted to educational, institutional, office, and residential uses. One example is the former St. Peter's Church, nursing academy, and rectory complex designed by Patrick C. Keeley, constructed in 1859, and located in the Cobble Hill Historic District of Brooklyn. In 2001, Hicks and Warren LLC purchased the historic complex to redevelop the existing structures, perform selective demolition and expansion, and renovate the interiors to accommodate 60 multi-family residential units. The fast-track project, named The Arches at Cobble Hill, was opened in 2003.

A second subset of this theme also relates to re-envisioning houses of worship in densely-populated historic districts. One strategy to combat the miasma of shrinking congregations and population shifts is to consider multiple programming without changing the building's use or altering its structure. Diverse non-profit groups can use the same worship space at different times, while maximizing access and generating income. Two such examples in Manhattan include St Mark's Church, located in the Greenwich Village Historic District, where the church's sanctuary is shared with a theatre group, and the Church of St. Paul and St. Andrew, a United Methodist congregation located in the Upper West Side Historic District where the sanctuary has shared space with a synagogue for the past fifteen years.

Agitate for Socially-Inclusive Development in Historic Districts

Without sufficient preservation instruments and sustained political will to mitigate profit-motivated development agendas where land value is increasingly precious,

heritage will continue to be threatened in the densely populated, extreme-growth vertical cities of the future. The preservation architect James Marston Fitch asserted that "under capitalism, all real estate development tends toward gentrification" (1990). To proactively curb the trends of gentrification and associated phenomena of marginalization and displacement of lower, fixed, and middle income residents, preservation planning should continue to encourage socially-inclusive residential development within historic districts.

In New York City, the evidence of this ongoing displacement can be witnessed in every borough. In 2003, Mayor Michael Bloomberg delivered an economic policy speech in which he argued "If New York City is a business, it isn't Wal-Mart – it isn't trying to be the lowest-priced product in the market. It's a high-end product, maybe even a luxury product." If the mayor can equate New York with a luxe-end commodity, and not every New Yorker enjoys access to luxury goods, then how can the widening chasm between New York's upper and working classes be bridged? One economic engine committed to advancing the cause of socially-inclusive development is the $200 million "Acquisition Fund" which New York City's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) established in 2006, dedicated to early-stage capital for the purchase of privately-owned land and buildings. According to HPD, allocations from the fund will provide a catalyst for the construction and preservation of more than 30,000 units citywide in the next ten years, providing affordable housing developers with a financial mechanism to compete with market-rate real estate developers in New York.

Economics and Historic Preservation

Although New York real estate development revolves around economic viability arguments and market-rate conditions, the Landmarks Preservation Commission staff are charged with constructing appropriateness arguments divorced from financial considerations, except in hardship application situations. Reading *Place Economics* case studies by Donovan Rypkema, hearing preservation consultant William Higgins clarify the federal tax credit system, listening to experts from the London School of Economics discuss strategies for resuscitating marginalized historic districts, and becoming acquainted with the growing trend in Europe of divesting select properties within their architectural heritage portfolios to reduce national debts, have all broadened my views.

I recently read Professor Randall Mason's report, entitled *Economics and Historic Preservation: A Guide and Review of the Literature* (2005), which should be a staple in every graduate school preservation planning class. In it, he succinctly argues that, "the historic preservation field suffers, in general, from an absence of an intellectual and research infrastructure to support the full range of activities and debates that define the contemporary preservation field". Evidently, there are opportunities to generate more quantitative analyses of the economic benefits of preservation to compliment the qualitative assessments and individual case studies that have thus far dominated the literature. The symbiotic interface between economists and preservationists should continue to produce practical and accessible information to further the well-established argument of preservation's economic viability to developers, legislators, preservationists, and the general public. The findings of the *Federal Tax Incentives for Rehabilitating Buildings Annual Report* underscores this argument with concrete data: in 2005, more than $3.1 billion in private investment dollars were leveraged amidst a pool of over 1.4 million National Register listed buildings. A total of 52,464 jobs were generated, and 4,863 low and moderate income housing units were created. These figures are critical for preservationists trying to advocate the cost-effectiveness of rehabilitation over demolition and new construction.

Federal incentives aimed at mitigating upfront investment costs in historic property repair and development, as codified in the Historic Tax Credit Act of 1986, have thus far exclusively benefited owners of income-producing properties. However, there is growing momentum to see the passage of the *Historic Homeownership Assistance Act* (House Bill 1172, Senate Bill 920) which would offer a 20% federal income tax credit to homeowners rehabilitating or purchasing a qualified, owner-occupied historic residence. Another proposed bill, *Community Restoration and Revitalization Act* (HR3159), seeks to improve the relationship between the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) and the Historic Tax Credit (HTC) and reduce the basis reduction required for a property using the HTC. The bill, if passed, would increase the HTC for smaller-scale capital projects by increasing the current credit from 20% to 40% on the first $1,000,000 of qualified expenditures for projects under $2,000,000. Other advantages would include allowing rental housing in qualified rehabilitated buildings and increasing the HTC in HUD-recognized, difficult-to-develop (a.k.a. high-cost) areas to 130% of qualified rehabilitation expenditures.

Lastly, let us consider the effect of budget cutting by federal and state governments on historic preservation programs in the United States. Especially hard-hit are the State Historic Preservation Offices, who must balance fiscal responsibility with staff level reductions, despite delays in performing regulatory reviews within federally-mandated time frames. The advocacy group, Preservation Action, argues that, "Since 2001, federal funding for historic preservation has dropped 28% from $94 million to $67 million...it is up to us to persuade Congress of the merits of historic preservation – of its important role in the economic health, livability and heritage of our communities". Amidst a culture of value engineering and spiraling national debt, there remains an urgent need to safeguard existing funding and advocate for expanded commitments for preservation programs at the local, regional, state and national levels.

Engineered Infrastructural Heritage

Historic engineered infrastructure is a fascinating subject often overlooked by historians, engineers, and preservationists that is now a gaining renewed interest. Perhaps this is because infrastructural heritage is often physically concealed, and therefore more difficult to appreciate than the often more visually accessible architectural heritage. Or perhaps this is because the majority of officially-recognized heritage in the United States is defined as architectural rather than engineered, whether by private non-profit organizations or governmental agencies. And of course, the imprimatur of recognition does not necessarily guarantee cyclical maintenance or long-term preservation. Despite the critical role played by infrastructure in the history of cities, and the significant monetary investment to develop bridge, road and water delivery infrastructure, this heritage often suffers demolition, demolition by neglect or rehabilitation that severely compromises the integrity of the historic structure. Alternately, engineered heritage can benefit from conservation, restoration, and even adaptive use. Certainly, the opportunity to stimulate greater awareness of the value of this heritage can be expanded in the fields of preservation, engineering, and heritage tourism.

Two interesting examples can be found in Rome and Manhattan. The historic waterworks of the Eternal City offer a unique case study from a preservation perspective. In contrast to a modern city where hydraulic infrastructure is frequently hidden, Rome's urban fabric is richly textured with fragmented layers of ancient as well as modern water-related features. While monumental arcades

and sculptural fountains are familiar elements of Rome's aqueous heritage, there remain opportunities to generate a greater awareness of the often-concealed water delivery infrastructure connecting a source to its terminus. The experience of finding stone aqueduct markers amidst overgrown vegetation, refuse and debris, tracing above-ground watercourses behind barbed wire fences, and confronting isolated maintenance facilities in advanced stages of disrepair suggest that this heritage does not enjoy a prominent role in the public consciousness.

In New York, we may also consider the case of the High Bridge, originally constructed in the 19th century to deliver Croton water from Westchester County to New York City. Although its masonry-arched design was modeled after ancient Roman aqueducts, the bridge was threatened with demolition by the early 1920's. The public outcry over the possibility of losing the bridge was evidenced in a 1923 *Scientific American* magazine editorial, which called the proposed demolition "an act of vandalism without precedent in the history of our country." Although the preservation campaign that saved the bridge from demolition could not prevent the decades of deferred maintenance which have compromised the bridge's structural integrity, a grassroots campaign to finance the bridge's restoration and reopen it to the public is underway.

Encouragement of Traditional Crafts Training

As artistic and architectural heritage continues to age, there exists a growing need to train the next generation of preservationists, conservators, and contractors in traditional artisan production techniques in order to perform sensitive and appropriate repairs. Although increasingly rare in the United States, it is still possible to find outstanding private consultants and not-for-profit advocacy organizations that are committed to working in this critical sector. Two private firms worthy of note in this context include the Massachusetts-based technical art history firm, Northern Light Studios, and the New York-based masonry conservation firm, B+H Art in Architecture. At the international level, the World Monuments Fund has organized the Traditional Building Arts Training Initiative, coordinates a preservation arts and technology curriculum for the Brooklyn High School for the Arts, is financing the restoration of the 18th century Emperor's Lodge of Retirement and gardens in the Forbidden City, and sponsored a craft workshop to bring practitioners of traditional building craft to post-Katrina New Orleans.

Transforming Public Perception about Preservation's Inherent Value

In 1963, as Pennsylvania Station was being demolished, an editor for *The New York Times* observed "Any city gets what it admires, will pay for, and, ultimately, deserves. Even when we had Penn Station, we couldn't afford to keep it clean. We want and deserve tin-can architecture in a tinhorn culture. And we will probably be judged not by the monuments we build but by those we have destroyed." Today, it is possible to find granite columns from Penn Station in the yard of National Retail Systems in the Meadowlands of New Jersey.

In America, it is a commonly held belief that new is better. The uninspired, claustrophobic maze that replaced the historic Pennsylvania Station unequivocally undermines this notion. Perhaps this view – that new is better – is rooted in the Constitution's creed of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and whose original draft was inclusive of the means of acquiring and possessing property. The buy-it-and-develop-it syndrome regularly confronts preservationists who are committed to designating, as well as regulating change to, the nation's heritage.

Two Italian architects recently tried to describe the national preservation mindset, where citizens are keenly aware that much of their heritage is part of the cultural patrimony of the world. Although adaptive use is widely practiced, the culture of post-war teardowns has been replaced by a much more conservative stance. Architects are not often given the freedom to choose between preservation and new construction. One preservation colleague argued that, in Italy, the most challenging threshold argument is developing a case for modifying a historic monument, rather than the American focus of building an argument supportive of the appropriateness of the anticipated change.

Friedrich Nietzche argued, "That which distinguishes truly original minds is not being the first to see something new, but seeing new something old, well-known...by all" (*Human all too Human II*, 1880). Preservation should not be considered an exclusive, peripheral activity but should be as routine as recycling. In the end, I think that we, as preservationist theorists and practitioners, must look with fresh eyes and minds to where we have been, to where we are now, and towards our future as a vital, proactive, and inclusive movement.

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NEW APPROACHES TO HERITAGE INTERPRETATION

RETHINKING EUROPE: A SUPRANATIONAL VIEW OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

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DESPITE the "suprastate" nature of the European Union, it is bound up in a cultural heritage rhetoric that originates in nationalism. The eagerness of the EU to create a European identity has meant that cultural heritage has come to be presented as a geographically defined "community of fate." In the long term this could cause more division than diversity. One of the most difficult and urgent tasks for European heritage institutions is thus to try to rethink this view on culture heritage.

Figure 1. European Union projects are running here. Placards outside the entrance and souvenir shop at the Tycho Brahe heritage site and museum on the island of Ven, Sweden. The sign to the lower left declares (in Swedish) that Tycho Brahe in 1999 were designated by vote to be the "Scanian of the millennium" by the listeners of a local radio station. Photo by Anders Högberg.

On the small island of Ven in the strait Öresund between Denmark and Sweden a new Tycho Brahe heritage centre has taken form. With creative thinking, hard work, and considerable EU-funding ,a well-visited attraction has been created as part of the long-term regional Swedish investment in attracting tourists to the island. And as an affirmation of its success, the museum, opened in 2005, was nominated for the European Museum of the Year Award in 2007 (Fig. 1).

This is just one of many examples from all over Europe where the EU framework programme Culture 2000 and its successor Culture 2007 have contributed to the development of a cultural heritage site. Hundreds of archaeological sites, museum collections, culture landscape attractions, historical celebrations and re-enactment places have been financed by funding from these framework programmes. With a total budget of more then 600 million euros, the overall aim of these funding contributions is to disseminate knowledge on European cultural heritage and promote methods for its conservation and protection.

The vision of cultural heritage that characterises these programmes is based on the idea that a European identity should be formed by a shared and common past, guided by the motto "cultural heritage as a vehicle of cultural identity." Although the programmes emphasise diversity and mobility in line with the Union's motto "United in Diversity," they are permeated with a rhetoric of roots and common European identity through a community of fate. An example is this phrasing taken from the first page of the decision of establishing the Culture 2007 programme: " ... greater emphasis should be placed on common cultural values and roots as a key element of identity..." (European Culture Portal 2006)

Funding from these programs have helped created many rich, flourishing, well-visited and appreciated cultural heritage sites in all corners of the European Union and in candidate countries. Many of these have enriched local or regional tourism and strengthened the identity of sometimes remote and peripheral regions. These are all positive results. But there is one problem which seldom is discussed – the use of a root metaphor.

The Root Metaphor

What we see as cultural heritage today is shaped by political, social, economic and individual attitudes (Shanks and Tilley 1992). Over the many years that Europe's nations have had institutionalised cultural heritage administrations, heritage values

have been changed, strengthened, and renegotiated. Although much has been preserved within the framework of the work of heritage institutions, just as much has been neglected, and thus allowed to fall into oblivion. What cultural heritage is today is thus as much a result of current choices as past events. But in the Union's rhetoric on building a European identity, cultural heritage is assumed to have direct representation. Ownership rights to the past, passed down throughout history in a direct line, are taken for granted and are both a presumption and a goal even before the remains and traces of the past have been studied.

Katarina Mattsson (2005), a cultural geographer at Uppsala University, has shown how a vision of origin and belonging that defines people according to a cultural community ascribed to them – woven together by a supposed community of fate through a collective past – brings with it an emphasis on differences. People are given qualities through relations among themselves and with the geographical place they come from. This takes place "through so called root metaphors: stories that root a particular population to a certain place" (Mattsson 2005, 150). The "root metaphor" is decisive in classifying and evaluating differences and similarities. Indeed the basis for how people are treated are classification and evaluation systems that *exclude.*

A Paradox

In the anthology Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe, edited by Robert S. Peckham (2003), the authors discuss the strong connection of cultural heritage institutions to the nation state. The European Union's work in heritage is examined critically. The influence of politics on research, the creation of a European identity, and an overemphasis on similarities rather than differences in the vision of the cultural heritage of European countries are all discussed. But the most important conclusion of this book is the realisation that the EU hasn't managed to formulate a supranational vision of cultural heritage around which to unite, a vision that breaks with traditional thought patterns based in nationalism.

Peter Bugge (2003), researcher on Europe at Aarhus University, has discussed how the EU has promoted a common heritage as a part of the construction of a European identity. But while doing this, the Union has not managed (or wanted) to break with traditional ways of thinking about what cultural heritage is and how it can be used. A common European flag, European "national anthem"

and European history book have been introduced – all attributes and symbols which within the framework of nation states were once used to form national identities. The Union has thus not put together a vision of cultural heritage that is detached from concepts of the nation state. Instead, what has been chosen is a nationalistic perspective on cultural heritage as a community of fate – i.e. a root metaphor – but transferred onto a new cultural framework in the shape of the European Union.

This view on culture heritage is a paradox because a core part of the EU membership for the countries involved in the Union is an engagement in common transnational values, an engagement which in itself is the antithesis of nationalism – that is to say, something above national, ethnic and cultural differences. The Union's constitutional work has a declared strategy based on rights, which builds on democracy and the constitutional state. This "rights-based strategy" is an opposite strategy to a value-based course of action – i.e. the setting up of specific and unique values, that are supposedly original, obvious and irrefutable, pointing to a collective identity.

The paradox is thus that, despite the fact that the EU in its constitutional work has clearly taken a stand against this kind of value-based collective identity, it is just such an identity the EU promotes when it comes to cultural heritage.

Mats Burström, professor of archaeology at Södertörn University College, wrote a few years ago in the journal Current Swedish Archaeology (1999, 24): "An interest in the prehistoric past cannot be motivated by an interest in individual or ethnic roots since the remains from these most distant times do not belong to any specific group of people, they are the cultural heritage of humankind." Contrasting this, it is nationalism's ideas that shine through in the EU's cultural heritage rhetoric, albeit tacked onto the Union's supranational state. Cultural heritage is to be bound not by national boundaries, but by the Union's boundaries.

A Supranational View, a New Way of Thinking

In the book Das kosmopolitische Europa. Gesellschaft und Politik in der Zweiten Moderne the sociologists Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande (2004) point out that the Europeanisation process has reached a critical limit. With the establishment of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007, the internal conditions for European

politics have changed radically. And with globalisation, east Asian economic development, and new world political conflicts, the external conditions for European politics have also changed. In this situation it is not enough to suffice with with institutional reforms, as for example the suggestion that the ratification of a European constitution put on ice in 2005 after the failure of public referenda in France and the Netherlands. Beck and Grande claim we need to do much more than that. We actually need to rethink Europe, to see it as more than an extension of the nation state, and instead think of it as the actual refutation of the national ontology for politics and society (Beck and Grande 2004, 10ff.).

The same goes for the European cultural heritage. We need to rethink it. The outer, as well as the inner, conditions for thinking as well as doing need to be changed. A vision of cultural heritage should be developed that goes beyond the nation state, one that fits the supranational. This is in my opinion one of the most difficult, decisive and urgent future tasks for European heritage institutions. The question is how to do it.

Beyond the Root Metaphor

One point of departure could be that cultural heritage is owned by no one. It is shared by everyone. Such a perspective is not about their, ours, or someone else's cultural heritage, but about what cultural heritage is, how it is created, and how it is given value, irrespective of who it is accredited to. This is a perspective:

- that emphasises that heritage is owned by no one, it is shared by everyone,
- where differences and similarities within and between groups are seen as creating cultural expression, and
- which instead of identity-creating narratives of the past provides the tools to relate, with evaluative reflection, on the meaning and uses of the past in the present.

"To look for Europe is to create it!" . These words were written by Zygmunt Bauman in his book *Europe: an Unfinished Adventure* (2004). Perhaps this motto can point the way for a European cultural heritage of the future. To look for the past is to create it. To create rather than confirm. To challenge what has already been said using the power of creation itself. To unite around processes in terms of creation rather than results. With such a focus, multiplicity and contrasts could be part of the same processes, and cultural heritage management could gain legitimacy through discussion, agreement or disagreement, rather than through origin.

The Future

So what does the future hold? When this text was written, in June 2007 during the six months of the German EU Presidency, European leaders agreed on the outlines of a new EU treaty to take effect in 2009. In this suggestion of a new treaty, phrasings that recalled anything about a presupposed state construction were excluded. No flag, no "national anthem" (Ohlsson 2007). Maybe this is the first step, even though a very small one, for the 50-year old European Union to start to reimagine itself?

In May 2007 a "European agenda for culture in a globalizing world" was published by the Commission of the European Communities. The goal was to establish priorities shared by all member states and to develop methods for dialogue and co-operation with a proposal of a new European agenda for culture. The role of culture in the Union was analysed and new challenges and new ways to meet them were identified.

The agenda deals with culture on a broad scale and specifically mentions cultural heritage only in passing. But in spite of this, it is the first official document from the European Commission in which a change in the vocabulary can be seen when cultural heritage is discussed. Gone is the root metaphor, substituted by formulation about a common heritage on the move: "Europeans share a common cultural heritage, which is the result of centuries of creativity, migratory flows and exchanges." Seen in the light of words used to describe cultural heritage in the framework programs Culture 2000 and 2007, this quote must be regarded as an expression of a profound shift in values ascribed to cultural heritage. Could this be the first step, once again a very small one, for the more than 100-year old European cultural heritage institutions to start to rethink themselves?

Author's Note

A different, though in part similar, version of this text was originally published in the anthology *Landscape Ideologies* (Högberg, 2006).

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THE RIGHT TO TELL WHICH STORY: "UNITY AND DIVERSITY"? "LOVE FOR YOUR COUNTRY" OR "MINI CRUISADES"?

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THE main focus of this article is on how identity is expressed through cultural heritage interpretation and negotiated in an environment of globalisation and promotion of multiculturalism and locality at the same time. For this purpose, I examine professional interpreters, tourist guides, who are a highly appropriate case for probing issues of interpretation policies and politics, perceptions of what constitutes cultural heritage and how this is presented. Guides are active in the "contact zone" of tourism, a "site of identity-making and transculturation" (Clifford in Yalouri 2001), and at the same time a massive phenomenon of modernity (see Table 1) on which no doubt the future of heritage itself heavily depends. Here, the local, global, personal, social and professional contexts interact, conflict and converse.

The specific case of Greek tourist guides that I use operates in a peripheral context of a country with nationalist baggage that revolves on the European supranationalist orbit of the "unity in diversity" dogma. Strict national legislation, allowing only those with state licenses to guide, reveals the stark contrast in perceptions about who has the right to "tell the story" and causes fierce competition about interpretation rights in the European Union. Some of the issues examined in my MA ethnographic research undertaken in June 2006 among sixteen Greek guides and a state representative, are the following: what is the image/identity guides project and who dictates it? How is the negotiation of the local, national and supranational elements delineated in the various narratives? More specifically, how are the official narratives of the Greek state and European Union reconciled and reproduced in identity making by the tourist guides? And finally, what is the role of the power/knowledge dyad, especially with regards to archaeology, in governing and producing a public discourse? These questions are presented here within two contexts: 1) supranational (audience and the EU), and 2) national (Greek state).

I should first, however, define the term "tourist guide." Cohen (1985) in a seminal work says that they have a boundary role as "mediators". They have also been described in a variety of other ways (see Table 1). At the same time as they direct the tourist "gaze" (Urry 1990) and facilitate contact, they may function as buffers who manage experience (Gurung in Dahles 2002, 787), becoming an authoritative voice that interferes with the visitors' own experience and frequently contributes to a "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1992). According to recent studies, they "glocalize" their destination by "folklorizing, ethicizing, and exoticizing", complying with state propaganda tailored for global export (cf. Dahles 2002, Salazar 2005).

One can argue that this political/nationalistic dimension is inherent in a profession that is institutionalised by nation-states as a means to promote them (cf. Bowman 1992, Dahles 2002). And if nation-states are "imagined communities," so are the narratives of heritage and identity. This constitutes an impasse however, for we need to see people as "situated actors ... rather than as causal mechanisms identified in hindsight" (Gardner 2004, 8). People act on meaning in very real ways and not on "trivialities" of action, as in the deterministic "nationalist dope" model.

Guides as live interpreters have a vast advantage as far as interaction and human contact is concerned, while they are also in a position to popularise academic specialist knowledge (for instance, there are one thousand and seven hundred registered guides in Greece and they work with anything between one thousand and eight thousand tourists every year; in the EU there are forty thousand registered guides). Yet, their professional status is vague, and seems to vary anywhere between a scholar, a performer and a taxi driver, reinforcing the vague nature of interpretation as "an art which anyone who can speak or write can do" (Little 2004, 269). Only recently, in 2003, there has been an effort in the European Committee for Standardization to define the roles of tourist related professions, an area with major confusion and discrepancies as far as who can offer what kind of services and for what fees.

The Greek tourist guides function primarily as mediators and "culture brokers" (McKean in Cohen 1985, 13). There is also strict national legislation – not only in Greece but also in Italy or Spain – allowing only those with state licenses to guide nationally, after having gone through a rigorous study of two and a half years mainly on archaeology and history in state schools, having passed

written and oral exams and proven a certified knowledge of foreign languages. As a consequence, this protective legislation has aroused an open confrontation with the EU, given the imperative of free mobility of labour and economic liberalism.

On Identity

Tourist guides construct representations of a place with a distinctive identity. Their ultimate goal is to project an image that makes sense. The continuity narrative is important in the process of understanding history, both for the guides as well as their audience. One of the Greek guide informants, Tom, ironically says that in the past tourists arrived in Greece expecting to see Pericles in person. Nonetheless, he and others refer to Aristotle as a "grandfather" and they interpret certain behaviours or habits observed in Greece as "national attributes," essentialising a national identity derived from antiquity through a linear chronology. At the same time, as guides insist on turning the gaze away from the monumental and ancient to the vernacular, today's everyday life, customs or religion, they infiltrate these through the very same classical past they try to debunk in the first place. With this internalised hellenisation of folklore, characteristic of how ethnography was developed in Greece (Danforth 1984), guides reinvent a national identity by means of "a symbolic detour through the past" for the needs of the present (Hall 1991, 19).

Conversely, guides often react to the Other's attitudes, preconceptions and stereotypes with an identity of being-not, an identity "in reverse:" "I don't want them [tourists] to leave with the impression of an inferior Greece, a Third World country" (Emma), or, "...they can't tell you that Greece is the Orient" (Mary).

What Greece is *not*, also signifies the simultaneous distancing from what is most recent and familiar – e.g. the Ottoman past, Balkan history – in order to create a new selective past, namely Hellenism. The certainty of many of the guides that they historically belong to the West, on the other hand, reaffirms, "that the surest sign of Balkan identity is the resistance to Balkan identity" (Ditchev 2002, 244), and demonstrates a fully internalised "speedy 'catch-up-with-Europe' modernization from above" (ibid. 241).

Archaeology and education are also inextricably linked to this process in Greece. In particular, because in the case of tourist guides the need for "very good and solid" knowledge is a recurring argument in regulating their activity,

the examination of science authority and Foucault's "governmentality" and the "power/knowledge dyad" – as examined by L. Smith (2004) – are very elucidating. The past and the "imagined communities" are reified in these processes.

For instance, the discipline of archaeology presides over the guides' dominant understanding of the past, since archaeology and history constitute the bedrock of the training curriculum. Archaeology in Greece is exercised strictly under state control and is predominantly taught following the cultural historical approach without much critical reflexivity in the discipline (Kotsakis in Shanks 1996, 79-81). As a consequence, it promotes a steadfast conceptualisation of the past as a continuum. At the same time, it is presented as a de-politicised knowledge/expertise/science, thus conveying an authority, validity and acknowledgment to the profession of guiding. Thus, the state is able to govern, by disseminating a unified national identity, which is legitimised through the use of experts – be they archaeologists or tourist guides – and the power the state bestows upon them through the law.

The continuity discourse exists, however, both in time as well as national space. Both education and licensing are national and not local. Regional sentiments and identities – especially in the periphery of the country – rarely emerge in the research. Greekness is strongly emphasised in guiding. Mary, who guides in Crete, says that by the time tourists leave her group, she has mentioned Greece so many times, that they think of Crete as Greece. And even though there are hardly any classical sites in Crete, she always talks about the classical period; just the mention of it means Greek identity. However, when Mary from Crete or the guides from Macedonia and the eastern Aegean islands incorporate their land into the larger idea of a nation-state, they actually secure it from the threat of being conceived as separate and thus belonging to something else on a common-sense basis of geographical proximity – e.g. Turkey – or name similarity, as in the case of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In a paradoxical manner, the inclusive, assimilating history of the national narrative in this case is embraced because it secures and reinforces the interests of locality; it is a national identity "from below" (Ditchev 2002).

Locality can coincide with national identity in another paradoxical manner. The two guides of German origin interviewed have far more outspoken opinions about the uniqueness and value of Greek history, the necessity of being Greek to guide and their feelings of discrimination that northern Europe has towards

Greece: "Europeans believe that below the Alps, Africa begins" (Sheila). They have also adopted 'we', i.e. Greeks, as an identity. This choice reaffirms first, that "identity is not some primordial core of personality" (Wenger 1998, 154), but experienced though practice, "a way of being in the world" (ibid. 151), of belonging and participating in various communities, but possibly also being hostage to that experience (ibid. 85). Second, what is more important is that in their choice, they actually privilege the local-Greek identity over their national-European one, demonstrating how relative the notions of local, national and foreign can be in a global discourse. As a contrast, in the case of guides who had parents of mixed nationality, their openness and critical stance towards what is "foreign" and what is "Greek" is far more noticeable than the others. Nationality as a criterion for claiming ownership of heritage and rights of interpretation is strongly challenged by them. However, the majority describes their profession as "national mission" and "popularised diplomacy", and express strong emotions.

The guides' role also becomes critical, since "identity is no longer based on the universal breaking away from the particular, but on the aestheticized local resisting the impersonal global" (Ditchev 2002, 246):

> *"many French ask '... when will you replace your letters with the European [Latin] letters?' But how can we replace the Greek letters with the European letters, since we have sounds in our language that we could never write in European letters and be the same? This means that we abandon our language, abandoning my language means abandoning my soul" (Claire, my emphasis).*

Yet, "there is no site for the 'production of locality' outside the networks of globalization or beyond its politics" (Calotychos 2003, 280). Locality becomes a solid index of identity, implying uniqueness and authenticity, two precious qualities in today's globalised systems. How can this be reconciled within the context of multiculturalism and "unity" that point to a blissful diversity, nostalgic authenticity and perhaps tolerance? We all share an ill-defined "world heritage", but locals more than others, and therefore are entitled to more rights to their heritage. The critical question is, when does all this stop making sense and when do such feelings become "tribalistic" and "irrational," especially when communities and people constantly draw meaning from the past and the present to understand each other? And who decides that?

The EU free-market rationale of integration tries to create common interests, to result in the transcendence of borders and nationalities and to overcome the "tribalistic" nation-state concept. But it does not predicate the sharing of equal power and means. Thus, the guides talk about the fear of "unemployment exportation" from one trade or country to another, a kind of "pneumonia" or "piracy" where uninhibited, cheap and unskilled labour generates unfair competition and poor quality. Additionally, for Claire, unescorted tour groups and illegal guides are the equivalent of a "mini crusade" – a metaphor with potent historical, political and economic connotations of exploitation and deception in Greece, a form of colonialism.

Rights of ownership of Greek heritage and who controls it are at stake. Greek guides believe that because the specific heritage is Greek, they should be the ones "to tell the story":

> *"I grew up in Kavala, I must benefit. What can the Dutch defend? Culture is a commodity and we make money. Why should the Czech or the Russian come and exploit it? Why don't they give me gas for free?" (Claire).*

Economic interests are crucial. Tourism constitutes a vital industry and source of income in a country that feels quite marginal and where industry and agriculture have been gradually dying out. The giant tour operators of northern Europe have already marginalized local operators in the lucrative tourist market. It is the same countries that have most resisted the professionalisation of guides and they insist on mutual recognition overlooking the major discrepancies in training and professional regulation.

But beyond the sheer economic issues of the argument, there lies another major dispute in the EU: local/national identity, as opposed to global/European identity. Greek guides, for all the interviewees, represent local identity, because in their own confined way, they have the potential to express meanings and feelings that come from a continuous being in a place. Hiring a tourist guide, even when there are very competent leaders in the group such as university professors signifies willingness to hear the local interpretation and, most crucially, it ensures that ancient Hellas, an icon of world heritage which attracts visitors in the first place, exists within, and not without, modern Greece and its people (Lowenthal 1988,

732); that, in other words, modern Greeks are not denied their coevalescence, because of a universal value that only ancient Hellas has.

Finally, local interpretations challenge westernised, museumified, neutralised and elitist perceptions of heritage. Their potent evocative meanings contribute to a precious authenticity, that our postcolonial societies accept it to be firmly founded on subjectivity and historically and socially determined conditions. The EU itself promotes culture and diversity, but offers no definition of European heritage, or of Europe or European identity for that matter. "Unity in diversity" sounds like a heritage bilingualism that perpetuates a conservation ethic heavily criticised for its eurocentrism and democratic deficit. Greek guides, as biased, ethnocentric, or parochial as they may be, challenge this ahistorical and decontextualised view of the world or European heritage with fervour:

> *"Without these [love for your country, the explanations about the Civil war, the post-war period, what signifies to Greeks moving to the city from the village, owning a flat and being on a floor with a balcony] Greece becomes... becomes what? One beach, five stones, four, seventeen, a thousand and twenty seven archaeological sites, a continuous museum. Yet it's not a museum, it is living life!" (Claire).*

Conclusions

The specific case study of professional interpreters like the tourist guides in Greece demonstrates that heritage interpretation closely relates to core issues of identity construction, its projection and rights of self-determination. The examination of the case study also reveals that cosmopolitanism is actually localised and results in the reinforcing of feelings of national identity through the Other. Multiculturalism and locality represent a major part of the global discourse, but still remain ill-defined and have variable meanings. For "local" communities and "local" people vary as much as one wishes.

On the other hand, even though the image Greek guides project is primarily for export, this effort is not just the outcome of a marketing or state-directed process that invents the right set of images of continuity for a public which has become familiarised with classical Greece for centuries. It is an internalised ideological, political and cultural process in everyday discourse. This nationalism

"from below" (Mouzelis in Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996) or "from the bottom up" (Sutton 1997), as it is contrasted with European supra-nationalism "from above" (Shore and Black 1994), brings forward again the powerful collective sentiments that national identities can arouse. This is an area that still needs further and extensive research in the fields of heritage and anthropology.

The interplay between the state and the nation, the state and the EU, the national identity and the cultural, regional or foreign identities, locality, globalisation and cosmopolitanism, constantly reveals an interaction of negotiating dualities, not of sterile dichotomies (Wenger 1998). What is crucial in this continuous process of identity making is precisely its dual character. Identification and negotiability should converse and coexist. For the first without the second is powerlessness leading to narrowness, marginality and exclusion; whereas, negotiability without identification is devoid of meanings and represents only power and cynicism (Wenger 1998, 208).

Telling the story is one thing; yet again, being heard matters as well. And this can happen only on such grounds, on grounds of negotiability, identification, of an ultimate sharing and realisation of our common humanity and its value.

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